

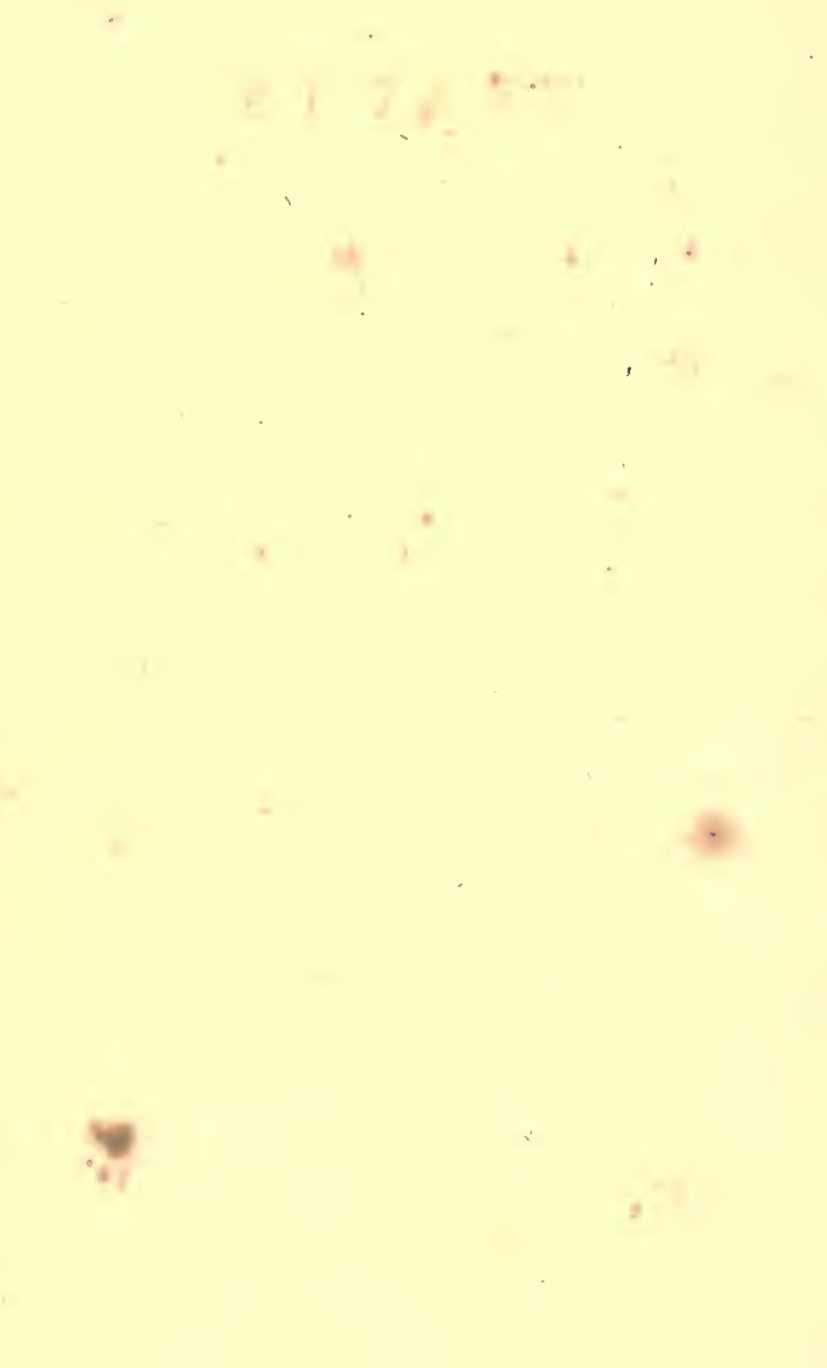


Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2007 with funding from  
Microsoft Corporation









TRACTS  
ON THE  
CORN-TRADE  
AND  
CORN-LAWS.

BY CHARLES SMITH, Esq.

---

A NEW EDITION.

*With Additions from the marginal Manuscripts of*  
Mr. CATHERWOOD.

---

TO WHICH IS NOW ADDED  
A SUPPLEMENT  
OF  
INTERESTING PIECES ON THE SAME SUBJECT.  
WITH SOME ACCOUNT OF  
*THE LIFE OF MR. SMITH.*

---

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, PICCADILLY.

1804.

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

STREET

S. CORRELL, Printer, Little Queen Street.

STREET

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE public approbation, and the frequent inquiries of the most intelligent men, have made it necessary to republish the celebrated Corn Tracts of the late *Charles Smith*. Some pains have been taken to improve this present Edition, besides adding some account of the Author. The errors of the press have been corrected. Some notes have been subjoined, to shew how the law has been altered, as the author had advised. The very accurate notes, in manuscript, of *Mr. Catherwood*, are added in the proper places. The least valuable part of the work, on the numbers of the people, owing to the defect of the materials, is now supplied.

To this advertisement will be found subjoined, some interesting informations, on the

same subject, by the experienced and respectable Mr. *Claude Scott*. To the whole is added a Second Supplement; containing,

1. An Abstract of the Enumeration of the People of England and Wales.

2. A Dissertation on the Corn-trade, and the Depreciation of Money, from Mr. *Chalmers's* Estimate.

3. A Statement of the Prices of Wheat, with the Grain exported and imported, together with the Bounties thereon, from 1697 to 1800 inclusive;—which was submitted to Parliament.

4. The Representation of the Lords of Trade, on the Commerce of Corn, and the Policy of the Corn-laws.

MR. CLAUDE SCOTT'S  
LETTER

TO

MR. STOCKDALE.

---

SIR,

YOUR letter of the 31st ult. addressed to Gower Street, has been forwarded to me here. I am very glad you are going to publish a new edition of Mr. *Smith's* Tracts on Corn: for they will be particularly acceptable, now the subject is before Parliament. The intelligent author has taken such a comprehensive view of the whole subject, that very little remains to be added, even by persons the most experienced in that branch of commerce, if a very important change had not taken place, since the Tracts were first published. The Corn-trade was then a material article of export; and it has since become a still more material article of import. Mr. *Catherwood's* Tables will make this evident.

Notwithstanding the great importations of late years, the general prices of grain in *Great Britain* have continually advanced, up to the harvest 1803. Mr. *Catherwood's* comparative statements will shew, that from 1765 to 1791 the average price of wheat had advanced 12s. 3d. per quarter; of barley 6s. and of oats 2s. 4d.; and from 1791 to *January* 1804, there was a further advance of 21s. 3d. per quarter in wheat; of 12s. 4d. in barley; and of 7s. 6d. in oats; that adding the prices of 1800 and 1801 \*, when the importation of wheat was 2,720,846 quarters, to the prices of the two following years, ending 5th *Jan.* 1804, the medium rate of wheat in those four years was 88s. 10d. per quarter; of barley, 46s. 4d.; and of oats, 29s. 6d.; although the

			s.	d.	} per quarter.
* Prices 1800 and 1801	of wheat	115	11		
	of barley	63	10		
	of oats	38	2		
* 1802 and 1803	of wheat	61	9		
	of barley	46	4		
	of oats	20	10		



importation of barley during the two first years was 243,870 quarters, and of oats 1,126,753 quarters. Thus it must appear evident, that the agriculture of *Great Britain* has not been discouraged by those vast importations, whatever cause the public may have to lament the necessity for such frequent foreign supplies. It is true, that, for some months past, the market prices of grain, particularly of barley and oats, have been below the medium rates that can compensate the growers for increased rent and accumulating charges; and if this fact can furnish sufficient ground to conclude that the produce of our own agriculture has very materially increased, it may be wise to put some restraint upon *importation* by altering the import rate, which might enable the farmers to obtain better prices in the home market. This may be a safer expedient, than to widen the door for export, under the uncertainty, whether the reduced prices now complained of by the landed interest, are not in a great degree occa-

sioned by circumstances connected with the present state of the country.

*Sundridge Park,*

*April 5th, 1804.*

P.S. The average annual importation of *oats* the four years, ending the 5th *January* 1803, is 194,300 quarters *less* than the average annual import of the eight preceding years.

I am, &c.

CLAUDE SCOTT.

# CONTENTS.

---

ADVERTISEMENT	Page iii
Letter from <i>Claude Scott</i> , Esq.	v
Some Account of the Life of the Author	xvii
I. A short Essay on the Corn-trade and the Corn-laws; containing	
Cause of the high Price of Corn in 1756 and 1757	25
Corn-trade under Consideration of Parliament—to be con- sidered both as Food and Merchandise—its Provision, Preservation, and Preparation for Food, have been always the Magistrates' Care.—Our Parliaments have frequently had it under their Consideration; and the Statutes prove they viewed it under the above double Light.—Short Account of Corn-laws down to 15 Car. II.	27
It might be the Intention of that Act to leave the Corn- trade free and open.—A short Account of the Progress of Laws and Price of Wheat, from 15 Car. II. down to 1757	29
The Cause of the high Price may probably be found by considering the Method of carrying on the Corn- trade	31
The Methods taken by the Legislature for its Provision	ib.
	Considerations

Consideration of the Circumstances of the Farmers and Dealers - - - - -	Page 32
Of the Preservation of Corn, and of public and private Magazines - - - - -	34
Of the Preparation of the Corn for Food - - - - -	36
Corn-trade, more particular Account thereof.—Corn, a Merchandise in regard to its Circulation within the Kingdom, as well as Export and Import—is circulated by Merchants and Factors—they are the same as Purveyors, &c. were—their Interest tends to prevent Combination	37
Meal and Flour is circulated by Meal-men and Meal-factors—of the Capital necessary to carry on the Corn and Meal Trades - - - - -	39
Calculations of the Sums employed - - - - -	40
The Numbers employed prevent Combination - - - - -	ib.
Of the annual Growth, and Reflections thereon - - - - -	41
Bakers, their Method of Trade - - - - -	45
Of the good Use which Magistrates may make of setting the Assize - - - - -	46
Some Things then only hinted at, now explained - - - - -	51
Two Rules to be observed where the Assize is set - - - - -	53
Resumption of the Arguments - - - - -	55
Corn-laws, their general Purport - - - - -	56
———, Hints for their Improvement - - - - -	59
Of the Laws regarding Markets - - - - -	61
Selling Corn by Sample, not Forestalling - - - - -	62
A Custom of <i>London</i> explained - - - - -	63
Regrating explained - - - - -	ib.
Ingrossing explained - - - - -	64
Measures, that Difficulties obstruct their Regulation - - - - -	65
Proposal for having them wrote up - - - - -	66
Abstract of the Register at <i>Eton</i> - - - - -	67
List of Statutes - - - - -	69

## A Table of Contents of the Appendix.

The Crops of 1755 and 1756 were deficient, and cause the high Price	- - - - -	Page 72
Additional Quantity can only relieve the Distress		ib.
To this End Duties on Import should be suspended; but Care should be taken not to discourage Agriculture		73
Internal Communication should be kept free, and Riots prevented	- - - - -	ib.
Old Laws tend to increase the Price, and how	-	74
Their Rigour abated by 15 Car. II.	- - -	ib.
But a due Proportion is not therein observed as to Prices		75
Mr. King quoted	- - - - -	ib.
15 Car. II. should be reviewed in regard to Oats, and why.		
—Care necessary in suspending the Duties	-	76
Inconveniency of coasting Cockets and Bonds	-	79
Not necessary	- - - - -	ib.
London is freed by 1 Ann, from this Custom; so should the whole Kingdom	- - - - -	83
Causes of high Price in 1757	- - -	84
Prohibition a good Measure	- - - - -	85
Is the Revival of old Laws against Forestalling, &c. proper	- - - - -	86
Circumstances of growing and manufacturing Counties require the present Method of Corn-trade to be continued; which is contrary to the Letter of the old Laws		ib.
Consequences of the late Proclamation	- -	88
Davenant quoted	- - - - -	89
The regulating the inland Commerce only, will not be sufficient	- - - - -	ib.
Quantity wanted, and how to be procured	-	90

## II. Considerations on the Laws relating to the Importation and Exportation of Corn—containing,

- Section 1. That no Law can cause Corn to remain at a fixed Price—was it possible, no good Effects would follow—what Legislators can do, and ours have done—and of the Bounty and its Effects - Page 97
- Section 2. Few understand the Corn-trade so as to point out proper Alterations, and all should be heard with Caution; the Opinions of four different Authors relative thereto - - - - - 100
- Section 3. During the Suspension, the proper Time to consider what is fit to be done, the Question stated and answered - - - - - 101
- Section 4. An Attempt to settle at what Prices Corn may be said to be cheap, reasonable, and dear; with Observations thereon, and Hints of some Alterations.—Whilst Corn continues as high as of late, the Bounty not wanting.—Caution to proceed slowly, and what may be attempted without much Hazard - - - 103
- Section 5. Question as to particular Importation stated, and a List of the Duties.—Hints what Alterations may be made.—Reasons on which the present Importation-laws are founded, and some Explanation of those Laws - - - - - 109
- Section 6. Of general Importations—they can be allowed only by Parliament—whether the King and Council can prohibit the Export?—If Export allowed in 1759, some Alterations proposed.—Experience only can shew their Utility, therefore Caution necessary - - - 112

Section

Section 7. Additions, on Account of the Alterations in	
<i>French Laws</i> - - - - -	Page 116
Conclusion - - - - -	119

### III. A Collection of Papers relative to the Price, Exportation, and Importation of Corn—con- taining

Account of the Prices of Wheat, &c. at <i>Windsor</i>	123
Average of the said Prices - - - -	129
The same reduced to Statute-measure - -	132
Account of Corn exported - - - -	135
Totals of the said Account - - - -	139
Amount of all the Corn exported - - -	ib.
Annual Averages and Value of middle Quarter -	140
Amount and annual Average of Bounties, viz.	
1697 to 1706, nine Years - -	141
1706 to 1726, twenty Years - -	142
1726 to 1746, twenty Years - -	ib.
1746 to 1765, nineteen Years - -	ib.
1697 to 1765, sixty-eight Years -	143
Account of Corn imported - - - -	145
Totals of the said Account - - - -	149
Amount of all the Corn imported - - -	ib.
Average of the annual Quantity of each Species	150
General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of Corn exported and imported, and the annual Averages there- of compared, viz.	
Barley and Malt - - - -	151
Oatmeal and Oats - - - -	ib.
Rye - - - -	152
Wheat - - - -	ib.
5	The



The whole of all Sorts	- - - -	Page 153
On what Principles the Accounts of the Value of Exports, with the Gains and Savings in Money, are stated	- - - -	ib.
The said Accounts, viz.		
1697 to 1706, nine Years	- -	155
1706 to 1726, twenty Years	- -	156
1726 to 1746, twenty Years	- -	157
1746 to 1765, nineteen Years	- -	158
1697 to 1765, sixty-eight Years	- -	159
Observations on the said Accounts	- -	ib.
Of the Number of People who eat each Sort of Grain, and their yearly Consumption	- - - -	161.
Of the Quantities of each Sort of Grain applied to other Uses	- - - -	ib.
Particular Accounts of Corn consumed, &c.		
First, Barley	- - - -	163
Second, Oats	- - - -	164
Third, Rye	- - - -	ib.
Fourth, Wheat	- - - -	165
General Accounts of Corn consumed, &c.	- - - -	166
Proportions they bear to each other	- - - -	ib.

#### IV. A Supplement—containing,

Chap. I. Of Magazines	- - - -	171
Chap. II. Accounts from <i>French</i> Authors	- - - -	181
Chap. III. Of the Number of the People	- - - -	200
Chap. IV. Of the Sorts of Bread, and of what Number of the People eat of each	- - - -	205
Chap. V. Of the Quantities of the several Sorts of Grain consumed annually in the Kingdom	- - - -	208
Chap.		



Chap. VI. Of the Houses, Inhabitants, and Corn consumed in <i>London</i> and <i>Paris</i>	- - -	Page 228
Chap. VII. Of the State of the Corn-trade in <i>France</i>		236
Chap. VIII. Remarks and Observations on the foregoing Collection	- - - - -	258

---

V. The Second Supplement, which is now added—  
containing,

1. An Abstract of the Enumeration of the People of *England* and *Wales*, taken in 1801, in conformity to the Act of Parliament; and copied from the Reports in pursuance thereof - - - - - 269
2. A Dissertation on the Corn-trade, and the Depreciation of Money, from Mr. *Chalmers's* Estimate - 274
3. A Statement of the Prices of Wheat, with the Grain exported and imported; together with the Bounties thereon, from 1697 to 1800 inclusive; which was submitted to Parliament - - - - - 301
4. The Representation of the Lords of Trade, on the Commerce of Corn, and the Policy of the Corn-laws 323



SOME ACCOUNT  
OF THE  
*LIFE*  
OF  
CHARLES SMITH, Esq.

---

IT is a very natural curiosity, which desires to know something of the story of those persons, who have either instructed, or amused us. Few will be found to have incited more this rational wish, than the unknown, but celebrated author of the Tracts on Corn, which were originally published, when the want of knowledge on this subject was great : and have been since demanded by the public, at different times, when the scarcity of food made the legislation of corn the most difficult.

The author of the *Corn Tracts* was descended of one of those families, which, in this country, and under our constitution, by persevering industry, and attentive management, acquire great wealth, and deserved distinction. As his father, and grandfather, were both engaged in the corn-trade, our author may be said to have been born in the midst of that traffic, whose principles he has so clearly illustrated.

Charles Smith, the undoubted writer of the *Three Tracts on Corn*, was born at Stepney, in 1713, the son of Charles Smith, by one of the coheiresses of Captain Marriner, who acquired notice, and opulence, where so many gain celebrity, and wealth, in the naval service of the East India Company \*. His father occupied, by descent, with a brother, several mills; and erected those great establishments of the same useful kind, at Barking, in Essex, which are still possessed by another branch of this enter-

\* See Morant's Essex, article Fange, or Vange.

prising family. From those profitable occupations, his father retired to Croydon, many years before his death, in 1761.

Our author was educated at the grammar-school of Ratcliff, which has produced several eminent scholars; but, as he was designed for substantial business, rather than the learned professions, he appears to have not proceeded to either of the Universities, though he seems to have had a natural passion for study. Upon the recession of his father, he naturally succeeded to the occupations of his predecessors; but, as he enjoyed a competent fortune, independent of business, he relinquished the management of the trade to his partner and relation, while he found leisure at Barking, where he now resided, to pursue his inquiries, and to qualify himself to serve his country, as a magistrate, and as a commissioner of trusts.

While thus engaged, at the age of thirty-five, he married, in 1748, Judith, the eldest daughter of Isaac Lefevre, whose father had been driven

from France to this happier land of toleration, by the memorable revocation of the Edict of Nantz. The same energy, which induced the Lefevres to flee from persecution, they carried into the pursuits of life; and, engaging here in the kindred trade of distillery, they acquired, by the same industry and attentions, similar wealth and distinction. Peter Lefevre, the uncle of Judith, after serving in the army, and discharging the trust of high sheriff of Essex, established the largest malt distillery, which has ever benefited any country, if we may judge from the amount of the duties drawn from it by Government\*.

After his marriage, Charles Smith settled among his wife's relations at Stratford, in Essex. Here, he acted as a magistrate, with more knowledge of the laws, than is generally possessed by those, who are not of the profession, and with great usefulness in a populous neighbour-

\* This distillery paid into the excise, in 1803, 150,000*l*.

hood,

hood, as well as credit to himself. During many years, he acted as treasurer and chairman of the trustees for the Middlesex and Essex turnpikes; and by his skill in accounts, and steadiness of application, brought the disordered affairs of this trust into that method, and punctuality, which are still experienced to be advantageous to the country.

Inquisitive in his disposition, and industrious in his habit, Mr. Smith appears to have early turned his attention to the operations of the corn-trade, and to the policy of the corn-laws. The knowledge, which he had thus acquired, he was induced, by the scarcity of 1757, to publish, in 1758. In this year, he gave to the public his “Short Essay on the Corn-trade and the Corn-laws.” In the beginning of 1759, he wrote his “Considerations on the Laws relating to the Importation and Exportation of Corn.” Many informations on these interesting topics were now communicated to him by various friends. All these he formed

into

into “ A Collection of Papers, relative to the *Price, Exportation, and Importation of Corn.*” And to these he added a *Supplement*, containing several calculations, which tended to explain, and confirm what was advanced in the three former tracts. All those papers he published, during the year 1766, in a second edition, corrected and enlarged. These *Corn Tracts* were universally well received. The accuracy of his details, the precision of his reasonings, the moderation of his opinions, and the candour of his representations, ensured for his labours the general suffrage, amidst the cries of distress, and the clamours of interest.

The author now enjoyed the satisfaction of reflecting, that he had essentially served his country. He lived to see an edition of his *Tracts* published by the city of London ; he lived to hear his work quoted, with approbation, by the late Dr. Adam Smith, in his *Essay on the Wealth of Nations* ; he lived to see some of his recommendations adopted by Parliament.

In



In the midst of all these gratifications, this respectable magistrate, able man, and useful subject, was killed by a fall from his horse, as he was returning home from one of his establishments, on the 8th of February 1777, in the sixty-third year of his age, and in the vigour of his faculties. He left his wife Judith, with a daughter, and a son, in possession of a very plentiful fortune. His widow still survives, in the eighty-eighth year of her age, and in the complete possession of her mental powers: she has the comfort of enjoying the attentions of her daughter, who lives with her unmarried; and she has the satisfaction of seeing her son respectable in life, with her several grandchildren. This son, the heir of the author of the *Corn Tracts*, is Charles Smith, of Suttons, near Ongar, and representative, in the present Parliament, for Westbury. He married Augusta, the third daughter of Joshua Smith, of Stoke Park, near the Devizes, which he has long represented in Parliament: and, by this lady,

Charles

Charles Smith has one son, and three daughters. Besides the landed and personal estates of his father, the present Charles Smith enjoys a share of the vast distillery already mentioned; having succeeded his maternal uncle, John Lefevre, in that gainful business.

## GENERAL PREFACE.

---

THE publishing the *Essay* in 1758, and writing the *Considerations* in 1759, though the last was then communicated only to a few, were the occasion of many *papers*, relative to corn, being communicated to the author, which he had never heard of before; and *those*, as they in general tended to confirm and strengthen many of the facts and observations contained in the said works, induced him to procure as many more as possible, and by these means he became possessed of what appeared to him a *valuable collection*, in that it proved from *facts*, the great propriety and utility of, and benefits that have arisen from, our *corn-laws*, which are not the work of a day, but were framed by slow *degrees*, and are founded on an experience of upwards of *two hundred* years, which elapsed while they were bringing to their present state, *viz.* from 1534, 35 H. 8. to 1738,

11 G. 2. since when they have not been altered, although they have had some temporary suspensions\*.

For which reasons, and as many papers in the collection appeared too valuable to be lost, it was resolved to communicate them to the public; and, if possible, though this seemed very difficult, to range them in such a manner as to shew their connexion, make them intelligible, and, at the same time, throw light on each other, and on the two first mentioned tracts, which, in general, were well approved. How far this is done, as well as of the value of the papers themselves, and of what utility the publishing them may be, the public will judge, on whose candour the author relies for any mistakes he may have made, and the many repetitions which will be found in the performance; some of which are casual, but much the greater part were made with a view that the reader might, as much as possible, constantly have the whole matter he is reading of before him, without being referred; which yet, after all, will be found too frequently the case.

\* See list of Statutes, in a subsequent page.

Whenever any thing is said relative to the corn-trade, especially if it contains *proposals* for making any alteration in the *corn-laws*, it should be well weighed, and the reasons given for making the alteration well and maturely considered before any regard is paid thereto; for the corn-trade is of a very comprehensive nature, and very few, if any, are *fully* masters of the subjects, the good management of which is of the *utmost* consequence to the *public*: besides, every man is liable to be mistaken, misinformed, and misled; and the author, after all his care, and the helps he hath been favoured with, is very sensible that this may be his own case; and therefore, in his attempts to explain our *corn-laws*, and hinting wherein he thinks they may be improved, hath given his reasons for every material thing he hath advanced, of which the reader will judge, whom he begs leave to assure, that, in this publication, his principal view is, by explaining the corn-trade and corn-laws, to contribute what little is in his power towards *keeping corn continually at such a moderate price as may be within the reach of the labourer and industrious poor.*



A  
SHORT ESSAY  
ON THE  
CORN - TRADE,  
AND THE  
CORN - LAWS:  
CONTAINING  
A GENERAL RELATION OF THE PRESENT METHOD OF  
CARRYING ON THE  
CORN - TRADE,  
AND  
THE PURPORT OF THE LAWS RELATING THERETO IN  
THIS KINGDOM.

---

FIRST PRINTED IN 1758.

## **ADVERTISEMENT.**

IN this edition some paragraphs are added, which are marked thus †; the list of the Statutes is continued to 1765; several notes, references, and a table of the contents, are added; and the whole is revised and corrected by the Author.



THE  
P R E F A C E\*.

---

It may justly be questioned, whether many of the late writers, who have communicated their thoughts to the public concerning the corn-trade, have not considered the affair in too restrained a light ; as also whether the alterations they propose in the method of carrying on this trade, and the amendments they would make in the laws relating thereto, would suit any other than particular places.

It is a quite different thing to make laws for the regulation of trade in one particular town, and to make laws for regulating so considerable a trade as that of corn is throughout so large a kingdom as this of *Great Britain* ; which must be acknowledged by all, who consider how much the annual produce in many places falls short of the general consumption of the inhabitants, whilst in others it exceeds it.

\* This is verbatim as in 1758.

These considerations have given rise to the following Essay ; wherein is laid down a general, but fair relation, in what method the corn-trade is at present carried on in these kingdoms ; together with the laws relating thereto : and till the nature and method of carrying on this business in general is well understood, it is hardly possible to make laws for its regulation with any probability of success.

## SHORT ESSAY,

&amp;c.

---

ALTHOUGH it be the general opinion, that the present dearness of corn arises principally from the avarice of the farmers and iniquity of the factors, merchants, millers, bakers, and dealers in corn; yet there is cause to believe, that it arises chiefly, if not wholly, from a real scarcity, occasioned by the short crops, which for three or four years past have been in the west and north-west parts of the kingdom, and from the general shortness of the crop throughout the whole kingdom in the year 1756. For supposing the crop of the last year 1757 to have been as good as the fine prospect in the field promised, which there is reason to doubt, much of it being lighter, by two or three pounds in a bushel, than in fine years, from the blight or mildew brought on by the dry weather, it would not be sufficient to reduce the price much, or soon, as little or no old stock was left remaining, and of course a much larger quantity of this year's growth must be already consumed than is usual at this time of the year. To confirm these observations,

observations, if we recur to former times, we shall find that in the year 1693 wheat rose from 2*l.* 6*s.* to 3*l.* 7*s.* per quarter, and was not much under that price, except in 1695, when it was 2*l.* 13*s.* till 1700, when it came down to 40*s.* In 1709 wheat rose from 2*l.* 1*s.* 6*d.* to 3*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.* at which price, within 6*d.* it continued the next year, and was not so low as 40*s.* till 1718. In 1740 wheat rose to 2*l.* 15*s.* from 1*l.* 17*s.* 6*d.*; and though the clamour was at that time as much against farmers, &c. as it now is, and the harvest of 1741 was good, both as to quantity and quality, yet wheat was at 2*l.* 7*s.* throughout that year; though in 1742 it came down to 1*l.* 12*s.* and after that continued declining, and was cheap to 1745.

But how reasonable soever this may seem, yet it must be owned that the general opinion, even amongst many persons of rank and character, appears to be on the opposite side of the question. The dearth of corn is felt; and how to bring the corn-trade under such regulations for the future, as to prevent the like distress hereafter, is under the consideration of the Parliament. And we may justly expect from the integrity and abilities of the honourable persons to whom this affair is committed, that the business of the corn-trade will be thoroughly examined, from the first throwing of the seed into the ground, to the consumption of the product in bread and drink, or the exportation of such part of it as may at any time be conveniently

veniently spared; as also that the several laws which, since *Edward VI.* have been made in relation thereto, with the good or bad effects they have had, and wherein and why the expectations of them have been answered or failed, will be carefully inquired into and examined, and the laws themselves, in consequence thereof, be either confirmed or *amended* \*.

Corn is to be considered both as a food and merchandise. The providing it either by growing or importing, its preservation for use or sale, the preparation of it for food by grinding and baking, the fixing, or rather declaring, the price of bread, and what weight the same should be of according to the price of corn, are particulars which have at all times, and in all places, been more or less the care of the Legislature, and fallen under the direction of the civil *magistrate* †. The parliaments of this kingdom, as appears by the statute-book, have frequently had this matter under their consideration, and generally treated it in the view we have mentioned above, both as food and *merchandise* ‡. In almost every statute which attempts any regulation in this trade, we may visibly discern they have en-

\* No alteration was made.

† See An Account of the Care taken in most civilized Nations, &c. by the Rev. *Rich. Onely*, fold by *Hawkins*, 1758.

‡ The author of *Les Interêts de la France* thinks it was never seen in this light till 1660 (see Supp. chap. 2. sec. 3.); but the statutes prove the contrary.

deavoured to order it so, that, while they were guarding against any thing which might tend to distress the poor, tillage should not be discouraged. To this end they have generally fixed the prices at which all persons might buy and lay up corn, or export it; and seem to have endeavoured, by all possible means, to make the people see it in the same light; having in the space of seventy-nine years, beginning with 1548, the 5th of *Edward VI.* and ending with 1627, the 3d of *Charles I.* passed *eight* several acts, as may be seen in the list at the end of this treatise, in which they have increased the exportation price from 6s. 8d. equal to 20s. of our money, to 32s. the quarter. How this trade was managed during the civil war doth not appear. But on the restoration, in 1660, the exportation price was immediately set at 40s. the quarter. In 1663, only three years after, it was carried to 48s. By this law it was enacted, that when wheat doth not exceed that price, all and every person may buy, lay up, and keep the same, and sell it again, under such regulations as by the said act are laid down: which act appears to have answered the intentions of the Legislature, as wheat, which for twenty years before, viz. from 1646 to 1666, had been on the average 2l. 17s. 5½d. per quarter, was for twenty years after, viz. 1666 to 1686, only 2l. 6s. 3d. per quarter on the average: and this was a virtual repeal of the acts 5 and 6 of *Edward VI.* and 5 *Elizabeth*, so far at least as they regard licensing  
till

till wheat is 48s. ; for, doubtless, upon passing this act, many engaged in the corn-trade, who were not qualified to take out licenses by the former statutes ; and if at any time it happened that out of, or between, the quarter sessions, wheat came to exceed 48s. when none could be licensed, it could not be supposed that all buying and selling corn should cease till licenses could be granted ; nor would it be right to oblige such who were not *qualified*\* to take licenses by the former acts, and yet had legally, while wheat was under 48s. by the authority and under the protection of this act, engaged their fortunes in this trade, immediately to leave off ; and where would others be found, who had sufficient knowledge, or were disposed and ready to enter into this trade, which any might again resume on the fall of the prices of grain ?

It might be the intent of the proposers or makers of this law, 15 *Car.* II. to leave the corn-trade, as it hath in effect been ever since, *free and open*† ; and so much did the desire of making corn a merchandise then prevail, that in the year 1670 an act was passed allowing wheat to be exported even after it exceeded 48s. paying the custom ; from which time till 1688 the average price of wheat was 2*l.* 6*s.* a quarter ; in which year, never-

\* *i. e.* Is or hath been married, an householder, and thirty years of age. See Stat. 5 *El.* c. 12. sec. 4 and 5.

† See Supp. ch. 2. sec. 8. how free and open the French have laid the corn-trade with them.

theless,



theless, an act was passed, repealing all custom, and giving a bounty of 5s. per quarter on exportation \*, till it should exceed 48s. the quarter; after which, till 1693, wheat, on the average, was 36s. 3d. per quarter only; but growing and continuing dearer till 1698, the exportation was forbid for one year, and then, for nine months, the bounty was suspended; from the expiration of which term, till 1709, wheat continued cheap, the average price being 1l. 14s. 5d. per quarter; but in that year it rose to 3l. 18s. 6d. per quarter, and exportation was again prohibited for one year; yet wheat was never under 40s. till 1718; from which time till 1725 it continued under that price; from 1725 to 1730 it was on the average 2l. 7s. 8d.; and in the year 1729 an act was passed regarding the importation, as also in 1732, and the method of inquiring into the price, in order to fix the duty on importation, was settled. From 1729 to 1740 the price was 1l. 15s. 7d. per quarter: in which year the price was 2l. 15s. and the exportation again prohibited for one year. It continued at 2l. 7s. the following year, but from thence to 1756 the price was 1l. 14s. 3d. In the latter end of that year, and the beginning of 1757, growing excessive dear, and great disturbances arising under pretence of the high price, the Parliament again took the affair into consideration, and passed one act to stop the *distil-*

\* In English ships.



*lery*\*, another to prohibit for a year the *exportation*†, and a third to allow the *importation* duty free, for a time certain‡; in all which acts, such necessary clauses were inserted as prove they never forgot or intended to oppress the farmer, whilst they endeavoured to relieve the poor.

But corn is still dear, and the discontent near the same; and how far the farmer, and others concerned in the corn-trade, are or may be the cause thereof, and guilty of ill practices, or whether all or any of them are in fault, or in any degree to blame, may in some measure be determined by reflecting on the nature of that trade, and the manner in which each branch thereof is transacted, and the means made use of with us to provide, preserve, and prepare corn for food: and perhaps what follows may be of some use to that end.

In regard to the procuring a sufficient PROVISION of our own growth, or by importation; the Legislature seems to have taken the following care.

First, as much as possible by encouraging the farmer to till so much land, that our own growth may be sufficient, and, in case it should exceed the consumption, by making provision for a bounty to be paid in order to export the surplus, where-

\* 30 G. 2. c. 10. which was by several other acts continued to 21 Apr. 1760.

† 30 G. 2. c. 1. continued to 25 Mar. 1759.

‡ 30 G. 2. c. 7. to the 24 Aug. 1757.

by the farmer's fears of loss, in that case, are removed, or rather prevented.

Secondly, by a law empowering the magistrates every six or three months to allow of the importation for six or three months to come, on a very moderate duty, after wheat exceeds 53*s.* 4*d.* the quarter, and by the late act, for a time certain, duty free; in all which, as was before observed, the interest of the farmer was remembered as well as the necessities of the poor.

And here it may not be amiss to consider more at large the circumstances, and general method of marketing, of our present farmers, or growers of corn, and the merchants, factors, and others concerned in this trade.

Now the farmers may be divided into four classes, *viz.* the poor farmer, the farmer in moderate circumstances, the farmer in good circumstances, and the rich farmer.

1. The poor farmers, who are very numerous, with great difficulty and labour, and seldom without some credit, as well from the shopkeepers as their landlord, are able to subsist themselves and families till after harvest, and their crops are generally all threshed, sold, and gone, before Christmas, or by the time their lands are in order and the seed put into the ground for the next year's crop.

2. The farmers in moderate circumstances, whose necessities, nevertheless, are such, that, as each

each seed-time, every quarter, and fair come round, they are obliged to raise money to defray the expense, pay rent, or buy in live stock ; and if they have any corn left in *May* they think themselves well off.

3. The farmers in good circumstances, who generally have it in their power, after seeding their lands, paying rent, purchasing live stock, and paying all other expenses through the year, to reserve a few loads of wheat to sell in or after harvest, in order to bear the expense thereof, and in expectation, if the season should prove bad, to make a better price than before harvest.

4. The rich farmers, who are in a capacity, as to fortune, to keep the whole, or the greatest part of their crops, the year over, speculate on the markets, thresh out and sell when they like the price. These in some measure serve at their own private expense the same purpose as public magazines, and without many ill consequences which might attend such *magazines*\*, keeping a quantity of corn always in the nation, and the markets from being unreasonably dear ; and, whatever may be thought, these men scarcely ever have it in their power, however in their will, to distress the poor ; for their numbers are but small, comparatively speaking, and the waste made by vermin makes their expense in keeping it very great, and frequently forces them

\* See Supp. ch. i. throughout.

to market sooner than they might otherwise intend to go.

The next thing to be considered is the PRESERVATION of corn when grown, both for use and sale; and in this, regard is to be had both to quantity and quality. Such quantity should be always in the nation as will be sufficient for the consumption of the current year, and also to supply any accidental deficiency in the crop; and this must be kept, either in public magazines, or private hands. How far the farmers keep, or can keep, may be observed from the account of their usual method of trade, as before related, from which it may be gathered, that the sale in the fore part of the year, or immediately after harvest, is more than the consumption; and, if the excess is not then laid up in granaries, the same would be in all probability exported, and corn before the next harvest become scarce, and consequently *dear* \*. But this is provided for and prevented by act 15 *Car. II.* which enables, or empowers, all persons to buy and lay it up; in consequence of which, many subsist by storing up this excess at their own risk, and the public, or Legislature, have seldom any necessity to take any care about it, and were never yet, at least

\* This used to be the case before the bounty was given, and our forefathers have sometimes bought their own corn again; and the people of Berne at this day, notwithstanding their magazines, are often reduced to the same necessity. See the Avoyer's letter, Supp. chap. 1.

since this act passed, obliged to form magazines, which if ever they should be obliged to do, might become a very great discouragement to tillage and the corn-trade, and in the end make corn dearer than before : as the farmer, seeing large quantities collected together in one view, might imagine corn would never bear a price for the future, and the fear of the market being spoiled by the magazines being opened, would prevent all private persons from keeping a sufficient quantity by them, to carry on their business with profit ; and consequently the trade would decline, or be in a manner left off, which might be attended with many other ill consequences, at present impossible to be known or foreseen. Neither can that care be taken to preserve the corn from corruption, decay, or being diminished or destroyed by vermin, in such public magazines, as in private hands, and consequently the goodness of the quality cannot be so well preserved ; for they will seldom be emptied more than once a year ; and all who know the corn-trade, know how difficult it is in this climate to preserve corn sweet, after it is out of the straw, for the whole year round.

But in private hands, though the quantity may be, and generally is, as large as it would be in public magazines, yet it is always circulating, by many shifted once a month, and by scarcely any less than three times a year ; in consequence of which the corn hath no time to decay, and the vermin,

such as rats and mice, are too well watched to be permitted to destroy it ; for, was the private trader to suffer them to make much waste, or the good quality of but a small part of what he circulates in the year to be spoiled, by the natural decay of the corn, which is very apt to heat, and thereby introduce an innumerable army of worms, or weavils, it might bid fair to wipe off all his profits for that time.

THE PREPARATION of the corn for food, by grinding and baking, is the next consideration : in regard to both which our Parliaments have very properly and judiciously interfered ; where corn is ground for hire, punishing the miller if he takes more than his just due for toll, though the grinding being now in most places paid for in money, these laws are but little known ; and where bread is baked for sale, fixing the assize, or weight of the penny and other loaves, according to the price of the grain, meal, or flour, of which the same is made, having regard to the sort of fineness of the bread, by which the poor are, or ought to be, satisfied that the baker hath *only* a reasonable allowance ; and he hath no right to expect more ; and, if he attempts any fraud, the magistrate has it in his power to punish him for the same.

It were hard to say which of these trades lies under the worst imputations at present ; some of them are of a serious nature, many trifling, and  
many



many contrary to common sense. What truth there is in any of them, doubtless, the Parliament will inquire, and cause those to be properly punished who have offended against any law now in being, and provide such *laws*\* as may seem proper to prevent such mal-practices in both trades for the future, as the present laws will not reach.

What has been already said might serve to give a general idea of the corn-trade ; yet it may not be improper to be a little more particular in regard to the method in which it is carried on by merchants and factors, mealmen and meal-factors, millers and bakers.

Now, corn may be considered as a merchandise, not only in regard of the exportation to, and importation of it from, foreign parts, but also in regard to the buying and transporting it from one part of the same kingdom to another ; since in many parts much more is grown than the inhabitants can consume, and in many others enough is not grown for the use of the people ; and merchants and factors are employed in this business, either buying on their own accounts, or by commission, as opportunity offers. And this must always have been the case, as the members of cities and large towns,

\* An act for regulating the bakers, &c. was passed, viz. 31 G. 2. c. 9. ; but this chiefly respecting only places where the assize shall be set, another act, viz. 3 Geo. 3. c. 11. was passed to regulate them where the assize shall not be set.

being employed about other affairs, and often at a great distance from the growing counties, can neither have had leisure nor opportunity to fetch it themselves; and those purveyors, laders, badgers, kidders, and carriers, mentioned in the old statutes, must have been men employed in the same sort of business as our present merchants and factors are; nor was the statute 5 and 6 *Edward VI.* made to give rise to, but to regulate, their method of trade, some evil practices having crept in among them, which were rather increased by that law than removed, as appears by 5 *Eliz.*; all which regulations seem to have been rendered useless, or rather repealed by statute 15 *Car. II.* as was before observed, and the corn-trade left in a manner free.

It is not to be supposed that these merchants and factors are averse to large profits, or that they will not get what they can for their trouble; but their number seems too great for them ever to combine, by refusing to sell at reasonable prices, to oppress the people. For, as the commodity they deal in is perishable, should they ever have such thoughts, they might lose more by the corn growing worse, than gain by the contrivance, before they could attain their ends. I say not that it is impossible that attempts of this kind may be sometimes made in particular places, but then they will generally turn out to the loss of such schemers, whilst the post is regular, and the corn-trade continues free; for interest never sleeps, and every advance of price  
is



is quickly known to all dealers, and a desire of sharing in the profit will soon overstock the market.

Mealmen and meal-factors are employed in meal and flour, as merchants and factors are in corn, and often have mills of their own, though they sometimes hire; but in the last case the miller is but a very inconsiderable person, barely living when corn is in plenty round his mill, and at other times being greatly distressed; which hath been the reason that many of them, who could raise a capital, have engaged in the meal and flour trades, adding to their old occupation those of mealmen and meal-factors.

Having mentioned the word capital, it may not be improper to observe, that to carry on every branch of the corn and flour trades, a much larger sum of money is required than may commonly be imagined, but will easily be believed, when it is remembered that the whole is paid for in present money; and though some part may be returned in a month, yet the whole, by those who have any considerable trade, is not returned more than three or four times in a year; and, he that cannot in plentiful markets lay in a stock, but is obliged to buy in proportion to his sales in short markets, will find his trade turn out to little account.

The following general calculation may serve to illustrate this still more. Suppose the whole number of the people to be six millions, and that they

each eat one quarter of bread-corn yearly, of thirty shillings value; that they each drink the produce of four bushels, in the same time, of the value of ten shillings; that the whole quantity of oats, beans, and other corn, given to and consumed by horses, hogs, oxen, other cattle, and poultry, in the same time, is equal in number of quarters to half the quantity consumed in bread only; each quarter of which may be valued on the average at sixteen shillings; and, lastly, suppose the annual quantity exported, though this seems most liable to be doubted, is equal in value to one sixteenth part of the home consumption, and that the account stands thus, viz. \* :

	Quarters.	£.	s.	d.
Bread corn — — — —	6,000,000 at 30s. —	9,000,000	0	0
Corn made into drink — —	3,000,000 at 20s. —	3,000,000	0	0
Oats, &c. for cattle and poultry	3,000,000 at 16s. —	2,400,000	0	0
Total of the home consumption, value —		£.14,400,000	0	0
Add the value of 1-16th thereof for the export		900,000	0	0
Total value of corn consumed and exported		£.15,300,000	0	0
Suppose the money returned 4 times a year, $\frac{1}{4}$ is		£.3,825,000	0	0

Now let us consider, that though some few concerned in the export may have larger dealings, yet he is reckoned no small trader who returns one hundred quarters weekly, and multitudes do not return forty quarters in that time; and, at the same time, let us reflect on the number of persons who must be employed in the corn-trade, to which may be added the farmers and growers, who probably

\* See other calculations, Supp. c. 5. sec. 26.

are ten times more in number than the others, and it may then be easy to judge how far it may be likely they should all combine to enhance the price, more than the smallness of the quantity may require; as the least of them all, in such cases, who should sell through fear, necessity, or inclination, would break the knot. It is true, an opinion or prepossession that things are scarce, may sometimes accidentally run through the body, and raise the *price*\*, but nothing but a real scarcity can support it; and though, perhaps, the steadiness in the price of corn may be deemed a certain proof of its being in plenty, yet this steadiness may, in a great measure, be preserved, if not sometimes procured, by the magistrates, as will be explained below.

And here it may not be amiss to take notice, how much the generality of people differ in opinion, in regard to the whole quantity *grown*†, and the proportion which the annual produce of corn in this kingdom bears to the consumption, or rather what the latter bears to the former; it being very common to hear men of good capacities and understanding assert, that we commonly grow enough in one year to serve two, often three, nay some do not scruple to advance, that in one good year we grow enough to serve seven years. In some particular parishes this possibly may be true, but it is very far from being the case throughout the whole

\* See Supp. ch. 2. sec. 16.

† See Supp. ch. 5. sec. 26.

kingdom.

kingdom. Let us only suppose we grow enough to serve fifteen months. Now, to make the matter plain, we say, that in twelve months we consume twelve quarters, and we suppose, that the export and distiller together take off one quarter and a half more, which is beyond the truth; in this case the whole, used and exported, will amount to thirteen months and a half, and we have one month and a half left; which will, in ten years, amount to twelve millions of quarters, and be worth as many pounds at least, even supposing our account in regard to the consumption as above to exceed the truth one sixth part. Now, we had ten as good years as ever were known in succession from 1741 to 1751; nay, if the common opinion is right, we have had sixteen. But where was the corn seen in 1751? Or what is become of it now? Let us reflect on the appearance of stacks and fulness of barns after harvest in every year, and then say where such a quantity could lie concealed, either in the straw or out. It could not be hid. Corn, even when threshed, is a very bulky commodity, and requires much room to be properly preserved; and when it lately happened that a great quantity of wheat was imported into *London* at once, which could not be above *forty*\* thousand quarters, the

\* The accounts having been since made up, it appears to have been 79,610 *qrs.* 7 *b.* and that the whole was 130,343 *qrs.* 2 *b.*; but this argument will still hold good: 80,000 *qrs.* is but a small part of the whole annual consumption.

whole importation not amounting to seventy, and the merchants, who could not meet with sales, were obliged to lay it up, they found it extremely difficult to get sufficient granaries for that purpose ; and yet a gentleman in appearance took the liberty to say, and that too in a public inn, that, of his own knowledge, one man had engrossed and laid up wheat enough to serve the city of *London* and suburbs three months ; which is at least 150,000 quarters, and was worth, at that time, near 400,000*l*. So apt are men to talk freely of what they have so little knowledge.

The forementioned calculations are exclusive of the seed, which is at least equal to one tenth part of the growth, and, almost every year, whilst it is putting into the ground, occasions some small rise in the markets ; and the mouths of the clamorous are then open against the engrossers ; but they don't consider, that, at that time, the demand is more than double to what it is at other times ; neither need the quantity used for seed be taken notice of, when we consider how much more the annual produce is lessened by a failure in the crop, of only one sixth part, than is taken off, on an average, by both distiller and exporter.

In the first calculation we supposed the quantity used by the distiller to be comprehended in that used for drink, and in the same account the export is reckoned at only one sixteenth of the consumption. In the last we reckoned both together to  
amount

amount to one eighth of the consumption. Both these estimations were so made in order to give the greater face of probability to the argument.

Now, suppose the annual produce of an acre, in common, besides seed for the next year, is three quarters of wheat, and that one eighth, in common, is taken off by the distiller and exporter, that is, three bushels; and then suppose the crops fall short one sixth part, amounting to four bushels; by this means there will be a diminution of one third more than the whole quantity taken off by the distiller and exporter, on the average, which, perhaps, may not have been enough considered.

Let us make one short reflection, and then return to our subject. The exporter and distiller, whether they take off one eighth, or only one sixteenth of the produce, are large customers, and give great encouragement to tillage; for whatever may be thought to the contrary, the quantity sown will ever bear a proportion to the demand; and if one eighth, or one sixteenth, of the demand is taken away, the farmer, finding his stock too large, will contrive to lessen it, by growing less; as, on the contrary, he will endeavour to grow more, when the demand increases; and for this reason in dear years, the demand being, at least in appearance, increased, a much larger quantity is always sown; and though this for the present still helps to increase the scarcity, it nevertheless makes provision for greater plenty the ensuing year. The quantity of  
corn



corn in plentiful years, exported and distilled \*, may be compared to the expenses of a man of fortune in diversions and amusements, for which he takes care to provide the proper funds, as well as for necessities; but these increasing, he is content to forego his pleasures, and applies what was provided for them, to supply his wants, and by that means finds comfort, when otherwise he would have been in distress.

But to return to our subject.

The method in which bakers carry on their trade is different, according to their different situations. Many, in country places, buy all in corn, and have it ground, either on hire, or at mills of their own: some buy only part in corn, and part in flour, or meal, as opportunity offers; whilst others buy all they use, in *London* more particularly, in flour of the mealmen, or meal-factors; and these last are most capable to make good bread for a constancy; for the mealmen buying larger quantities, and the meal-factors having many sorts to sell, they scarcely ever use the flour of one sort of wheat alone; and the advantage this gives them is incon-

\* If these reflections are right, neither exporter nor distiller should be too much discouraged; and the distiller, while spirits are used, should have the preference in point of policy, since it is said he pays sixteen shillings and upwards for liberty to use what the exporter hath large sums for taking away.—Now by the act 33 G. 2. c. 9. the duties on spirits are so increased as to amount to above *three pounds per quarter* on all corn distilled.

ceivable;

ccivable ; for a number of sorts, judiciously mixed, by the mutual assistance of their different qualities, arising from the various soils on which they grow, will do much better than almost any one sort alone. Whereas the baker, who buys corn for himself, is always obliged to use what he hath bought, though his judgment may have deceived him in the buying, or the market may not have enabled him to provide himself with such in quality as he may have desired ; or having been bought good, it may be by accident debased in grinding, each of which circumstances will at different times be the case ; and when any of them happen to the mealman, he will have better opportunities of helping himself, by selling the meal for a coarser use.

When the bakers have provided the wheat, meal, or flour to make bread, they are, or may be, bound to make it of such weight, or sell it at such price, as the magistrates shall order, who are authorized by law to set the same, according to the price which the grain, meal, or flour, whereof it is made, bears in the market, common or reasonable allowance being made them for their labour ; and this power of the magistrate, *discreetly exercised*\*, may be of great use in checking the too great fluctuations in the market.

\* What is meant by *discreetly exercised*, is explained further in the paragraphs added to this edition, which are marked thus †.



Wheat must alter four shillings in the quarter for the price of the peck-loaf to vary *two-pence* \*; and the price of the peck-loaf being generally between eighteen-pence and three shillings, every such variation may be called  $8\frac{1}{2}$  per cent, or  $\frac{1}{12}$  of the whole value, which is a great deal.

Now, suppose that wheat should vary in one week eight shillings per quarter, it might be proper for the magistrates to raise or lower the weight and price of bread, as if it had varied only four shillings; always remembering to balance the account, which they will scarcely miss an opportunity of doing within the space of three months, by giving the baker, when he hath suffered, for the like time that he hath suffered, as much more than the common allowance, as will make up the difference to him; and, on the contrary, taking from him when the public hath suffered.

It is true the table of assize hath provided for an alteration of one penny the peck, which is two shillings in the quarter of corn; in regard to which, the magistrates may sometimes proceed in a discretionary manner, as before hinted, in regard to four shillings. But they will find it impossible, many times for a long while together, to raise and fall no more than one penny in the peck at a time; and

\* *Two-pence.* This, which was said of the old assize-table, is also true of the table in 31 G. 2. taking both sorts of bread into the account; consequently these arguments still hold.

it may sometimes happen, though it is presumed very seldom, that they will be obliged to vary more than two-pence.

If, *from any accidental glut in the market* \*, an extraordinary fall in the price should happen, and the magistrates should exercise their power with too much exactness, in fixing the assize of bread, it may deter those who have goods preparing or prepared, from bringing them to market, and make as sudden and considerable an alteration the other way, which it might be equally imprudent in them to follow in fixing the price of bread, as it might tend to alarm the farmer, and make him for a time withhold his corn. Complaints against the farmers for withholding in times of scarcity are never wanting, and yet our Parliaments have not, as we know of, thought proper to make any laws to compel them to sell; for which doubtless they had good reasons. And laws of this sort seem needless, since the farmers in general are obliged to contrive the matter so, that their whole stock may be sold by harvest, to make room for the growing crop; and the returning demands they all, except a very few, have for money, cause some of them every market day to sell some species of corn or other, and thereby as regular and continual supply in general is found, as could possibly be dealt out under the direction of any law. And, from some years' ob-

\* See this further explained in the additions marked †.

servation, we are persuaded, that if the stock in the farmers' hands had been annually taken account of at *Christmas*, *Easter*, or any other time, nearly the same quantity of the crop would have been found exhausted each year at the same time ; and perhaps more would have been found exhausted, both in very plentiful and very scarce years, than in those of moderate plenty. In the first case, more corn must be sold to raise the like sum, and in the last, the increase of money seldom equals the shortness of the crop, and many farmers find their barns empty before they have raised the necessary sums. But let us suppose the farmer in times of scarcity doth not bring his corn to market in due proportion, according to the time of the year, it is possible, though he regards only himself, this conduct may be of public utility ; for, was he to supply the market in the beginning of the year, with as much as in good years, too great a quantity might be *exported* \*, and famine stare us in the face before next harvest. It will be replied, A reasonable withholding may be right ; but they always carry it to a wicked excess. We allow this case possible, but hardly probable. The hopes of gain are always attended by fears of loss ; and fear being the stronger passion of the two, and backed, in regard to most of them, with their returning necessities, though some few may be carried by avarice so far

\* See note, page 34.

as to withhold unreasonably, yet much the greater part, pressed by necessity, and urged by fear, will act otherwise; and upon the whole, the quantity sold will be generally found, even in scarce times, in proportion to the time of the year; and though upon any accidental rise, as above observed, they may withhold for a time, they cannot continue to do it long, since, in a very short time, corn will be brought from more distant parts, and spoil their sales.

The power of the magistrates, in regard to the assize, seems *declaratory*; and if they take care that the baker hath, one time with another, the common or reasonable allowance, and no more, neither the people nor he are injured; and if the magistrates can, in which however they should act upon good information and with great caution, by sometimes giving more, and sometimes less to the baker, keep the markets tolerably steady, the places where they preside will hardly ever fail of a regular supply; and perhaps cases may have happened within memory, which, upon reflection, must justify this way of thinking.

† When this pamphlet was wrote, it would not have been proper, on account of the prejudices which then prevailed, and the bad opinion to which almost all sorts of people were then worked up, by anonymous authors, against the farmers and dealers in corn; or decent, on account of the transactions having so lately passed, to have fully explained what

what was hinted at by the words *discreetly exercised*, page 46, the last paragraph, and the *cases* therein mentioned, which was this.

† The magistrates in *London* had, in the year 1757, been very strict, and it was thought much too hasty, in following every sinking in the price of wheat and flour, in setting the assize of bread; and some attempts were made to reduce the prices of wheat and flour, by setting the assize of bread lower than the returned prices of them would bear. The consequences of which management were exactly such, as it is herein before said, such proceedings, *on any accidental glut in the market* \*, would produce. Such mealmen as depended wholly, or chiefly, on the *London* market, seeing they were to trade on a much greater uncertainty than common, or rather to a certain loss, proceeded with great caution, and were afraid to do their usual quantity of business: large quantities of corn and flour, which were originally designed for that market, never came there at all; but were carried where it was imagined they would turn to a better, or at least a more certain account; and many loads of flour were fetched out of *London* again: and so bare of that commodity was the city at one time, that application was made to the Lords ‡ of the Privy

\* See page 48.

‡ Their Lordships were told, “there was just ground to suspect a combination had been entered into, to raise the price of flour



Privy Council for advice; *and it was proposed to their Lordships to put in execution the powers given by an act of 25 Henry VIII. to fix a price at which wheat and flour shall be sold* \*; and some factors and mealmen were ordered to attend the 25 Aug. 1757, which they accordingly did, and were examined: after which, more regard being had to set the assize of bread according to the returned prices of wheat and flour, the affair was soon remedied; and the same

flour and wheat; and that, with this view, many mealmen have ordered their factors not to sell the flour consigned to them, and have actually carried great quantities of flour and wheat back into the country, in order to make a scarcity in the *London* market which may raise the price."

\* What is above observed in relation to the power of the magistrate in regard to bread, will hold good as to every species of provision; and a French author gives us the following story, which confirms what is here advanced, and is an account of the success of an attempt to make a regulation like that proposed to the Privy Council:

THE ORDONNANCE OF PHILIP THE FAIR, in *March* 1304, says, None, under pain of confiscation of their goods, shall sell the SETIER of the BEST WHEAT, Paris measure, for more than forty *sols* Paris money, and the SETIER of other inferior corn in proportion, and of beans and barley at thirty *sols*, of oats at twenty *sols*, bran at ten *sols*, and other grain in proportion.

But, says my author, this ORDONNANCE was made in a great scarcity, and it produced a most unhappy effect, in that it hindered the markets from being supplied; and it was revoked some days after by another ORDONNANCE, dated at *Paris*, in 1304, on *Palm-sunday*, in which PHILIP THE FAIR permits the sellers of corn to get what price they can.

*Essai sur les Monnoies, Paris, 1746, 4to. fo. 35, notes.*

having been continued ever since, with more regularity, the markets have in general been well supplied.

† However, it was then found, from experience, that the power of the magistrate in setting the assize of bread, is in *fact*, as was before hinted, only declaratory, or saying at what prices, according to the *returned* value of the grain, &c. the baker will have a reasonable living profit. It is true, where they lie under any difficulty to get a *true return*, they will be at a loss how to make such declaration with propriety: but this can only happen in small towns or villages; and in such places it is best not to set the assize at all: more especially since the statute of 3 Geo. 3. cap. 9. brings the bakers of bread, particularly of that made of wheat, under a tolerably good regulation in those places where magistrates shall not think fit to set the assize.

† But, as it would be proper in small towns and villages to omit; so in large towns and cities it will always be necessary to set the assize, in order to satisfy the people that the price which the bakers demand is no more than what is thought reasonable by the magistrates; and they have two rules by which they may judge if they have been mistaken or misled; that is, for any considerable time: accidental mistakes and impositions, as they are impossible to be avoided, are not here meant.

† First then, if they have been induced to set the assize too high, or so as to give the bakers too large

an allowance, they will find *many*\* of them sell for less than they allow.

† And, secondly, if, on the contrary, they have been induced to set it too low, they will find, as in the above case, the markets badly supplied.

The assize-table ‡ seems to want some enlargements, no notice being therein taken what price flour should be esteemed to bear in proportion to wheat; and, when this is done, it might not be amiss to explain the method which should be taken in setting the assize out of corporations, which is now seldom done, and in many places neglected, only because the law seems not explicit enough on that head; though it may require great care in appointing for what district the same should be set; possibly every HUNDRED may do; but, it seems, a certain distance round every corporation (in regard to *London*, it would be best if it were ten or twelve miles) should be obliged to follow the assize set, and orders made, by the magistrate thereof; otherwise, as bread may, and will, often be different in its price in the town and its neighbourhood, a continual discontent, on account thereof, will be kept

\* *Many*—There are very frequently, or indeed generally, some who undersell; and it too often happens that they make themselves ample amends in the quality, or quantity, and sometimes in both.

‡ A new assize-table was settled, and the baking-trade regulated, by stat. 31 G. 2. c. 9.; many of which regulations were by 3 G. 3. c. 11. extended to places where an assize shall not be set.

up



up amongst the poor, which may, by the foregoing method of making certain distances round corporations follow the assize thereof, be prevented, and that without departing from the rules of justice; since, one time with another, the neighbourhoods of cities and great towns are served much on the same terms as they are.

Thus have we in general considered the corn trade and laws, endeavouring to shew in what methods the trade is carried on, from the farmer to the consumer; and in what light it hath, or seems to have, been regarded by several parliaments from *Ed. VI.* to this day, wherein we could not forbear to intermix a few reflections; and, if our account is generally true, most of those who have wrote upon this subject have been mistaken; probably from considering the corn trade and laws as they regard or affect particular places, or parts of the kingdom only; whereas all laws, made for the use of the whole nation, should be considered in a more enlarged view.

It is not intended to insinuate, that the corn-trade wants no regulation, or the laws relating thereto no explanation or amendment, and that the dealers in corn are a sort of righteous men, who want no restraint or looking after. All that is aimed at is only to shew, that this trade is at present under better regulations, and the present corn-laws, though they may want some amendments, much better adapted to the intended purpose, than is commonly imagined; and that, whatever may be the will of particular

particular persons, Providence, by the nature of the commodity, the large sums necessary, and the number of hands required to carry on this trade, hath put it out of the power of the corn-factors, and all others concerned therein, in any considerable degree to oppress the people, more especially whilst the present laws are in force; and, we are fully persuaded, no better laws in general for conducting this affair can be framed or delivered, how much soever, in particular instances, they may be improved. Let us reflect once more upon what they say.

To the farmer—Till your land, and fear not having so great a plenty as to be a burden and loss to you; for we will give a bounty for the exportation\* of what can be spared.

To the people—Be not uneasy at the exportation of corn; for when it begins to grow dear, the bounty shall cease\*; and when it is dear, it shall be imported at such a moderate and proper duty, as, whilst it adds so little to the price†, as not to distress you, shall yet prevent so great a quantity being thrown in, as may deter our own farmers from tillage‡; nay, even when it becomes necessary, it shall be imported duty free.

\* 1 Wm. and M. c. 12. 5 Ann. c. 29.

† 15 Car. 2. c. 7. 1 Ja. 2. c. 19. 2 G. 2. c. 18. and 5 G. 2. c. 12.

‡ How far the farmer may by exportation, for which we give a bounty, be prompted to till, or by the prohibition thereof generally, or absolutely, or by the fear of large importations, be discouraged

To the corn merchants, factors, mealmen, meal-factors, and all concerned and employed in transporting corn and flour from the growing counties, to such parts where the consumption exceeds the growth,

couraged from tillage, our legislators know; and the following short piece of history, communicated to me by a gentleman who was an eye-witness of the facts, may serve to shew their wisdom and foresight in making the laws which are provided for that purpose.

In *Turkey*, the Grand Vizir, between twenty and thirty years ago, suffered a more general exportation of corn to be carried on, and more openly, than any of his predecessors had done, insomuch that *three hundred French vessels*, from twenty to two hundred tons, were, on one day, seen to enter *Smyrna* bay to load corn, and wheat was then sold for less than seventeen pence *English* a bushel, with all the expenses in putting the same on board included.

From these open proceedings, the Janizaries and people took the alarm, pretended that all the corn was going to be *exported*, and that they, in consequence, must be *starved*; and in *Constantinople* grew so mutinous, that they could not be appeased till the Vizir was strangled, and his body thrown out to them.

His successor took particular care not to split on the same rock, and would suffer no exportation at all; many of the farmers, who looked on the exportation as their greatest demand, neglected tillage to save their rents, which in that country are paid either in kind, or in proportion to their crops, to such a degree, that in less than three years, the same quantity of corn, which, in time of export, sold for not quite seventeen pence, was worth more than six shillings; and the distresses of the people in *Smyrna* were such, that every bakehouse and magazine of corn was obliged to have a military guard, which took care that no one person should have more than a fixed quantity; and so strictly was this order observed, that an *English* ship in the *Turkey* trade was detained from sailing some time for want of bread.

The

growth, and collecting it for exportation when allowed—Proceed freely in your business ; for if the false notions, which the populace may of themselves conceive, or wicked men for bad purposes, or for want of better information, may possess themselves with, should make them interrupt you, and forcibly take away or spoil your property, the PLACE\* where such interruption happens shall pay the damage, or those who do it shall be punished. But let not this promise of protection and recompense be so ill received, and ungratefully returned by you, as to induce you to endeavour to get an unreasonable gain, and to oppress the poor ; for, in that case, we will set a price on your commodity†, and punish you, if you do not comply with our orders ; yet this shall be done, not by any inferior magistrates, who by their connexions may, however well they intend, be biassed either for or against you, or for want of proper information may give improper orders, but by the King's Privy Council, and great officers of

The ill consequences of these proceedings were not removed in many years ; and to this day, the fate of the Vizir, as an unfortunate good man, is lamented.

While we have a Parliament, we need not fear such ill consequences from the mistaken notions of the people, or the farmer ; but, within memory, the people, in more parts of *Great Britain* than one, have proceeded to extremities upon as mistaken principles as the people at *Constantinople* did in the case above related, and which, if they had not been timely checked, might have proved as much to their own disadvantage.

\* 11 Geo. 2. c. 22.

† 25 Hen. 8. c. 2.

state, or any seven of them, of which the Lord Chancellor, Lord Treasurer, Lord President, or Lord Privy Seal, shall be one, who being best apprised of what is fit to be done throughout the whole realm, and in every part thereof, are, for that reason, the most capable to judge, and the only proper persons to be trusted in what is fit to be done in this affair.

In regard to the bakers, it is true, we have trusted them to magistrates of corporations and justices of the peace, who have a clear rule for their conduct. But while the bakers act uprightly, they may proceed with the same freedom and safety, as all others may, in the carrying on their branch of the corn-trade.

In this small compass may be seen a general view and purport of most of our laws relating to the corn-trade, except those regarding malt, markets, and measures, and which it might be possible to reduce, except the baking-act, which seems necessary to be kept apart, into one plain act of parliament; in which, though some amendments may be made, we are bold to say, the general PLAN cannot be improved.

Here a question naturally arises, how, and in what respects, can those amendments in our corn-laws be made? To this, of myself I presume to say little; but what I have heard from some able men, who seem to understand the affair, I shall take the liberty to put down.

Let



Let the *bounty*\* on wheat be reduced to 4s. per quarter, and on other grain in proportion, and payable on wheat to 40s. rye to 26s. barley and malt to 20s. ; yet when they exceed these prices, and do not exceed the old exportation prices, let them be freely exported; and when they exceed those prices, let exportation cease, except to our own subjects abroad in our service, and the garrisons in our forts, and such as ought to be excepted; and then let corn be imported at the present low duties, till it shall have risen, wheat to 54s. and other grain in proportion; and, after that, duty free; taking care not to make the law so positive, but that the King, by the advice of his council, when he shall think proper, though corn shall be under the exportation prices, may forbid the exportation of every, or any species thereof, for a time to be limited: and, to prevent confusion, let the justices of the peace, in each quarter-sessions, and the Privy Council at all times, have power to inquire into the prices of corn in each port, and certify the same to the customer thereof; and let such prices, as they shall certify, for three months after, be his guide, except the King in council shall order otherwise, in regard to paying the bounty, permitting the export without bounty, stopping the exportation, and permitting the importation at the low duty or duty free; the

\* See this stated at large in the Considerations on the Laws relating to the Importation and Exportation of Corn.

present method of obtaining the bounty by affidavit in regard to the market-price, in all ports where no such certificate shall be in force, being still observed.

Two things, they pretend, ought to be taken especial care of, viz. to guard against the bounty being paid for corn *not* exported, which they affirm formerly to have been the case, and to protect, at all times, persons who may be engaged in carrying corn, or flour, from one part of the kingdom to another, that the whole may have, as near as may be, an equal share of the blessings of Providence; otherwise, whilst a bounty may be paying in one place for the exportation of corn, another part of the kingdom may almost suffer famine. So much for the general laws about corn.

As to the laws about malt, it would be needless to mention them here, since they, in their execution, are under the Commissioners of Excise.

In regard to the laws about markets, they seem not full or explicit enough, or to be grown by the alterations of times in a manner useless, or rather impossible to be used; besides, the statute 5 and 6 of *Edward VI.* as far as relates to *Westmoreland, Cumberland, Chester, Lancaster, and York*, and all foreign victuals imported, except fish and salt, is by 5 and 13 of *Elizabeth* altered, or repealed: by statutes 21 of *James I.* and 3 of *Car. I.* till wheat is 32s. any person may buy it \* in market or out of market; and

\* And yet *Howell*, afterwards clerk of the council, in a letter from *Rouen*, dated *Sept. 7, 1619*, says, “ ’T is true *England* hath a good

and by 15 of *Car. II.* this act is further altered, as hath been before observed.

A notion had some time prevailed, that buying corn by *sample* is **FORESTALLING**, and contrary to law; which seems to be a mistake. The statute of *Edward VI.* says so plainly what forestalling is, that it may be wondered how such a notion could prevail. It is buying any thing *coming*, or making a bargain for any thing *coming*, before the *same* shall be in the market, or persuading persons *coming* to abstain. Now what hath this to do with samples? In many places it is not practicable to bring all into the market; or, if it were, would it be reasonable? Or could it ever be intended, that in such towns, and many such there are, where from 500 to 2000 quarters are sold every market-day, and whose inhabitants do not consume 2000 quarters of bread-corn in a whole year, every part of the quantity sold should be pitched in the market, after having been drawn many miles, and that, perhaps, through very bad roads, to be drawn afterwards possibly another way as many miles more, nay sometimes directly back again by the farmer's own door, to be ground, or put on ship-board, either for the use of distant parts of the kingdom, or foreign parts?

good repute abroad for her fertility; yet be our harvests never so kindly, and our crops never so plentiful, we have every year commonly some grain from thence (*France*), or from *Dantzic*, and other places, imported by the merchant." The alteration or different situation between these times and those in regard to our plenty need not be mentioned.

There



There is a custom still retained in *London*, which seems to explain this affair, and to have been at first introduced to prevent forestalling; which is this: no corn is permitted to be measured till a sample is carried to the Lord Mayor, who is thereby not only apprised of its arrival himself, but also of *its fitness for man's use*, and hath, by his crier, an opportunity to give notice to the whole city of its arrival, and then grants his permit to the person requesting to measure and take up his corn, either for sale, or to put in *granaries*.

REGRATING is selling *victuals*, in which corn is included, bought in the same market, or within four miles thereof, again, except to each person for his family; which, however, by stat. 15 *Car. II.* may now be done after three months.

Now, however necessary it may be to prevent those who, knowing the particular sort of corn that their neighbours may want, or taking advantage of ignorant or idle people, which come late to market, engross what they can early in the morning, and then, out of *pure friendship*, spare it again on the same day; yet the general and strict execution of this clause would be hurtful; for who would venture, in *London* more particularly, to buy and lay up any corn when the market is overstocked, if he was obliged, either not to sell it in the same market again at all, or not till after three months? or how would that market be supplied, most certainly very sparingly, where any the least surplus must either  
be

be laid up at the expense of the importer, who generally wants the money, or else sold for next to nothing? So sensible were our legislators of this, that when corn is imported, if the importer cannot sell it but to loss, it may be re-exported to foreign parts, and great part of the duty will be returned\*: and if he takes care to report his ship for exportation, and keep her without the port, he may, if he dislikes the price, go to any other port of the kingdom, which otherwise he cannot.

INGROSSING of corn, is getting it into possession with intent to sell it again, except by persons properly qualified, or lawfully authorized, which every man now is, till wheat is 48s. by statute 15 *Car. II.* in regard to which enough hath been said before.

In this, as was before observed in relation to the corn-laws, it is not intended to insinuate, that no laws can be enacted for the better regulation of the markets, for there certainly may; but only to shew, at least, that we think, that the old laws could not have the intention in their first institution which some men may imagine; and that, till every market in the kingdom is exactly, or at least nearly, in the same circumstances, or the growth of corn is nearly the same throughout the whole nation, no one general law seems possible to be made, which will properly, at all times, and in all cases, regulate them all; yet it may be presumed, that, upon application from any particular place, the Parliament

\* See Book of Rates, title CORN.

would pass a temporary act to regulate their markets, and their experience might be of great use in serving to shew, how far it would be proper to put other places in the same or like circumstances on the same footing. That which bids the fairest to suit them all is, to cause a certain hour for the opening of each market to be fixed, and to make it penal to sell any corn before notice is given by a bell or otherwise, and then those who are not in time may blame themselves.

Measures have been attempted to be regulated to no purpose, as appears by many acts since *Magna Charta*, which is now 500 years ago, by obliging all persons to use the like; and it may be feared there are difficulties to be surmounted, which may retard their regulation as yet for a long while \*.

† We shall mention only one, which it seems would not be easily got over, in regard to the measure of corn; where the poor buy it for their own use, and a large bushel is at present used; for there it would be very difficult, if it was reduced to the present standard, to satisfy them that they received no injury by the reduction.

† For instance, let us suppose the act to commence in a place where the measure of the bushel of wheat is nine gallons, the weight 72*lb.* and the

\* Since this was wrote, two or three Committees of the House of Commons have taken great pains in regard to weights and measures; but the difficulties are not yet got over.

price 4*s.* 6*d.*; this bushel being reduced to eight gallons of the weight of 64*lb.* and to the price of 4*s.* would at first give no offence; nor so long as the price should remain under four shillings, as it would be plain, that although the size and weight of the bushel were less than before, the price was also reduced in a due proportion; but whenever it should happen that the eight gallon bushel was sold for 4*s.* 6*d.* then the poor would be apt to grow discontented, and say, The bushel is lessened, and yet the price is raised; and it would not be an easy matter to persuade them to believe, that if it was still nine gallons, the value would be more than five shillings.

In the mean time, if it were enacted, that in every market-house in *Great Britain*, or some more conspicuous place in every market-town, the contents of the bushel, and other measures, in *Winchester* quarts and pints, should be wrote up, and kept continually legible, and every person selling corn there should be bound, without express mention being made thereof, and in case no express mention be made at the bargain-making to the contrary, to deliver the person to whom he sells, the quantity for the bushel, or other measure, as so wrote up, and at the same time it should be prohibited to depart from the use of the customary measure to any other but the legal, or *Winchester* measure:—

Many good ends might be answered by this regulation;

lation; every stranger coming into the market would know what measure he is to expect: and, if certificates of the measures used in each market were transmitted to the Excise, the whole might be made into a kind of alphabet, by which every person would be enabled to find the various measures used in every part of the nation.

The statute 15 *Car.* II. fixes the prices at which all other sorts of grain may be laid up, as well as wheat; and stat. 1 *Will.* and *Mary* gives a bounty on the exportation of rye, barley, and wheat-meal, as well as wheat; and stat. 5 *Ann.* on oatmeal: but it was thought proper to take notice of wheat only in this Essay, in order to avoid prolixity.

The prices of wheat mentioned herein are taken from the register of *Eton* College, an abstract of which from 1646 follows; and we will close the whole with a list of the statutes above referred to.

	£.	s.	d.
From 1646 to 1666 the average price of the quarter of wheat 2	17	5	$\frac{1}{2}$
1666 to 1686 — — — — — — — — — —	2	6	3
1686 to 1706 — — — — — — — — — —	2	5	$9\frac{3}{4}$
1706 to 1726 — — — — — — — — — —	2	4	$9\frac{1}{2}$
1726 to 1746 — — — — — — — — — —	1	17	$10\frac{1}{2}$
1746 to 1756 — — — — — — — — — —	1	17	5

*Note,* These are the prices of the very best wheat; besides, the measure there is full nine gallons; so that, deducting 2s. for the fineness, and one ninth for the measure, the prices will stand thus, *viz.*

	£.	s.	d.	
From 1646 to 1686 — — — — —	2	4	4	Winchester measure.
1686 to 1756 — — — — —	1	15	1	Ditto.

For the last 70 years—wheat hath }  
 been cheaper — — — — — } — 0 9 3 per quarter.

In 1688, the bounty on exportation was first given; and wheat having on the average been so much cheaper ever since, shews, that the law then made was a good law, as well as 15 *Car.* II.; for, if only two thirds of the corn consumed in bread hath been wheat, and the above register is true, the money, which hath been saved annually in that article only, amounts to above a *million and a half of money*\*—an almost incredible sum, and more than four times the sum paid for bounty on the exportation of all sorts of corn in the year of the greatest export ever known; besides the ready money which hath been brought into the nation for the corn exported.

\* See the account stated in the collection of papers, Tract the third,



## A LIST of the STATUTES about Corn, most of which are above referred to.

Year.	Kings.	General Purport.
1534—25	<i>Hen.</i> 8.	cap. 2—regulating the price of victuals.
1548—	5 and 6 <i>Ed.</i> 6.	cap. 14—against ingrossers, £ <i>l.</i>
1553—	1 and 2 <i>P.</i> and <i>M.</i>	cap. 5—allowing exportation till 6 <i>s.</i> 8 <i>d.</i>
1563—	5 <i>Elix.</i>	cap. 12—alters 5 and 6 <i>Ed.</i> 6. in regard to buyers.
1571—13	<i>Elix.</i>	cap. 13—regulates exportation, £ <i>l.</i>
1603—	1 <i>Jac.</i> 1.	cap. 13—the same.
1624—21	<i>Jac.</i> 1.	cap. 28—the same, and alters 5 and 6 <i>Ed.</i> 6. still more.
1627—	3 <i>Car.</i> 1.	cap. 4—nearly a repetition of the last, and allows export to 32 <i>s.</i>
1660—12	<i>Car.</i> 2.	cap. 4—relates to export, and allows it till 40 <i>s.</i>
1663—15	<i>Car.</i> 2.	cap. 7—the same; and alters or suspends 5 and 6 <i>Ed.</i> 6. till wheat 48 <i>s.</i> to which it allows export.
1670—22	<i>Car.</i> 2.	cap. 13—allows export after 48 <i>s.</i> paying custom, £ <i>l.</i>
1685—	1 <i>Jac.</i> 2.	cap. 19—regulates the manner of ascertaining the prices according to which custom on the importation is to be paid.
1688—	1 <i>W.</i> and <i>M.</i>	cap. 12—gives bounty, and repeals custom on export to 48 <i>s.</i>
1698—10	<i>W.</i> 3.	cap. 3—from <i>Feb.</i> 10, no export for one year.
1699—11	<i>W.</i> 3.	cap. 3—from <i>Feb.</i> 12, no bounty for nine months.
1700—11 and 12	<i>W.</i> 3.	cap. 20—no custom on export after 48 <i>s.</i>



## LIST of STATUTES continued.

Year.	Kings.	General Purport.
1706—	5 <i>Ann</i>	cap. 29—gives bounty on oatmeal and wheat-malt.
1709—	8 <i>Ann</i>	cap. 2—no export for one year.
1729—	2 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 18—relates to importation.
1732—	5 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 12—the same, and amends 1 <i>Ja.</i> 2. c. 19.
1738—	11 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 22—made felony to hinder exportation.
1740—	14 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 3—no export for one year.
1741—	15 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 35—no export for one year.
1757—	30 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 1—no export till 27 <i>Dec.</i> 1757.
		cap. 7—import allowed till <i>Aug.</i> 25, 1757, duty free.
1758—	31 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 1—no export till 24 <i>Dec.</i> 1758.
1759—	32 <i>Geo.</i> 2.	cap. 2—no export till 24 <i>Dec.</i> 1759, but subject to alteration.
		and by cap. 8—repealed after 25 <i>Mar.</i> 1759.
1765—	5 <i>Geo.</i> 3.	cap. 31—no bounty on export or duty on import of wheat till 24 <i>Aug.</i> 1765.
1765—	5 <i>Geo.</i> 3.	cap. 32—if wheat is 6s. a bushel, the King and Council may prohibit the export thereof, during next recess of Parliament.
1766—	6 <i>Geo.</i> 3.	cap. 3—wheat may be imported from <i>America</i> duty free to <i>Michaelmas</i> .
		cap. 4—oats and oatmeal generally to ditto.
		cap. 5—export of wheat from <i>Feb.</i> 26, to <i>Aug.</i> 26, prohibited. These

These are all the most material statutes we can find relative to the corn-trade; and it is remarkable, that although the bounty hath been before suspended, and the exportation prohibited, yet, till 1757, the importation was never allowed duty free.

The following papers, which were before added, are here continued by way of Appendix: the writers are entirely unknown to the Author, nor doth he know how he came by them, but thinks they were given away at the door of the House of Commons, and in his opinion should not be lost, as they not only contain some things which have slipped him in the Essay, but also explain some of those he hath mentioned, in a better and clearer manner than he hath done.

# A P P E N D I X.

---

*January 19, 1757.*

## MEMORIAL

FOR THE

## ROYAL BOROUGHES OF SCOTLAND.

IT is now past all doubt with the discerning part of this nation, that the present high prices of grain proceed from the great deficiencies that happened in the two last crops. The first was almost entirely consumed before the last was got well off the ground; and the last proves extremely deficient, both in quantity and quality.

It is therefore perfectly evident, that an addition to the quantity can alone relieve the distresses of the poor and labouring people. It is this, and this only, which will reduce the present exorbitant price of grain in the populous grazing and manufacturing counties, which never yield grain sufficient for their own subsistence, where the poor presently labour under extreme distress, and which, it is too greatly to be feared, must even increase, if some effectual

fectual measures be not immediately taken for their relief.

It would be highly proper to suspend the duties on the importation of all kinds of grain for a limited time, in order to encourage the bringing corn from abroad to supply the wants of the poor, and thereby to support the trade and manufactures of the nation, which otherwise must suffer in a very high degree. But at the same time that the Legislature should be attentive to such measures as will not only reduce the present prices, and prevent their growing higher, they should also be careful to prevent any unnecessary consumption of foreign grain; as that must drain the island of so much of her treasure, and in some degree discourage her agriculture and abate her strength.

To this end it is of high importance that the communication be rendered as free and easy as possible, from the growing counties to those who never produce enough for their own consumption. The Legislature ought therefore to consider, how to prevent the present riotous proceedings of the common people, their seizing on the rivers and high roads the corn going to or coming from the public markets or shipping ports, and selling it off, or otherwise distributing it as they please, in open defiance of the laws.

It is to be observed too, that these proceedings demand the stricter attention, that they prevail chiefly in the growing counties, thereby preventing the supplies

supplies from going to the populous manufacturing districts, which are in real want. The least evil that ensues from such abuses, is enhancing the price in a great degree, by increasing the risk and charge of the adventurer.

The old laws which were made before commerce was well understood, those, to wit, of the 5th and 6th *Edward VI.* and of the 5th of *Elizabeth*, seem to have a considerable tendency to increase the prices to the manufacturing counties. They lay many restraints upon the purchasers of corn, and subject them to heavy penalties, which they are liable to incur by very innocent mistakes. Hence persons of character and substance in many places now decline all concern or adventure in grain, to the great detriment and distress of the districts distant from the places of growth, which were in use to be supplied by their means, and can hardly indeed be supplied otherwise. It is true, that, in order to abate the rigour of these statutes, there was a law passed in the 15th of *Charles II.* whereby it was enacted, *cap.* 7. § 4. “ That when the prices of corn or grain, *Winchester* measure, do not exceed the rates following at the markets, havens, or places where the same shall be bought, *viz.* the quarter of wheat 48s. the quarter of rye 32s. the quarter of barley or malt 28s. the qr. of buck-wheat 28s. the qr. of oats 13s. 4d. the qr. of peas or beans 32s. that then it shall be lawful for all and every person and persons (not forestalling nor selling the same in

the same market within three months after the buying thereof) to buy in open markets, and to lay up and keep in his or their granaries or houses, and to sell again, such corn or grain of the kinds aforesaid, as without fraud or covin shall have been bought at or under the prices before expressed, without incurring any penalty; any law, statute, or usage, to the contrary notwithstanding."

This act, it must be acknowledged, does in some degree mitigate the acts of *Edward* and *Elizabeth*. But it is to be observed, that the prices therein specified bear no just proportion to each other, especially those of wheat, barley, and oats; the first being rated at 48s. the next at 28s. and the last at 13s. 4d. per quarter. It is well known, that wheat and barley seldom now reach these prices, but that good oats exceed the price at which they are rated almost as often as they fall short of it.

The proportion may have been very just at the time this law was made; but the alteration in consumption, produce, or quality, has put those articles on a very different footing; so that now, when wheat bears the price of 48s. the quarter, and barley 28s. oats cannot well be under 20 or 21s.

Mr. *King*, a very ingenious and accurate calculator, in his computation of the land product of *England* given by Dr. *Davenant*, estimates, that, in a year of moderate plenty, the wheat sells at 28s. the quarter, rye at 20s. barley at 16s. oats at 12s. and peas and beans 20s. He likewise tells us, that

one



one tenth of defect in the harvest will raise the price of corn about three tenths above the common rate; that two tenths of defect will advance the price eight tenths, and three tenths deficiency will advance it about one and  $\frac{6}{10}$ . If we suppose his computation any thing nearly just, and that the price of oats, in ordinary years of plenty, may be rated at 12s. a quarter, surely their advancing above 13s. 4d. must very frequently happen. To lay any restraint therefore upon the purchasing of oats when at that rate, is doing great injustice to the farmers and landholders of the growing counties, as well as to those which always stand in need of supply; preventing the first from obtaining so good prices as they might and ought to obtain, and the others from being supplied so freely, and on such easy terms, as they would if they were relieved from such restrictions.

It would be proper, therefore, that a review was made of this law; that the buying of oats was relieved from any restraint, except when they shall exceed 20s. to 21s. the quarter, which will bring them on a par with other grain contained in the act of *Charles II.* It is surely for the advantage of the whole nation, that no part of it should enjoy a monopoly against another; and that every part should be cultivated to the greatest advantage. Some districts are found most proper for tillage, others for grazing; the produce of both is equally necessary for the support of the people. The Legislature

3

ought



ought therefore, at all times, to have in view the rendering the circulation of the different products into all quarters of the kingdom as easy and free from restraints as possible : for every restraint must lessen the value to the grower, and enhance the price to the consumer ; especially when the article consumed is to be brought from places that are distant. The immediate revising of this statute becomes the more necessary, that the justices of the peace in the counties of *Northumberland* and *Durham* have refused to give licenses for the buying of corn in the terms pointed out by law, though the price of oats is far from being high in those counties ; and it is well known, that agriculture has, within thirty years past, so increased in the first of them, that the people cannot, even in the very worst year, consume near the produce of that county : so if some method is not taken, to check the increasing riotous disposition of the people there, and to relieve all doubts and difficulties which the justices may have in regard to the laws, the corn there may be cooped up in the hands of the farmers without sale, to the detriment of the landed interest, and distress of the manufacturing counties, which consume oats in bread, and demand immediate supplies. It may also occasion an unnecessary exportation of the nation's substance, by creating a greater demand from abroad for that article, than would be requisite, if the communication between the growing and manufacturing counties was rendered free, open, and

and safe. Therefore, if, any measure should be taken for suspending the duties on importation of grain, it is of great importance, that something effectual should, in the first place, be done towards quelling the present riotous spirit that too much prevails; and rendering the purchasing and transportation of oats from the growing counties to the distant markets, as safe and easy as that of any other grain.

To those who have occasion to know the situation of the kingdom in regard to that article, the suspending the duties upon the importation of grain appears every day more and more requisite, to preserve the lives of many of his Majesty's subjects. It is, however, a measure that ought to be conducted with great delicacy, lest the landed interest and agriculture of the nation should suffer by too large importation.

The duties ought therefore to be taken off only for a limited time, with power to his Majesty and Council to prolong the time, as they see cause. On the other hand, supplies from abroad are absolutely necessary, and this nation can only have them from countries that lie very distant; therefore the time of suspension should not be too much limited, lest it frustrate the intention, by preventing many persons from adventuring upon such uncertainty as they must be under, whether they shall be allowed to import the corn after it shall arrive; the duties upon every kind of grain, except oats, being equal

to a prohibition, unless the prices should go so high as can happen only from the most dismal famine.

As the culture of land is of the highest importance to this nation, every way of encouraging agriculture ought to be carefully sought after and cherished; and every visible obstruction to its improvement, and whatever tends to lessen the value of its product, ought to be removed. It were a pity an opportunity of doing any thing to answer these ends should be lost; and none can offer more favourable than the present, when the scarcity of corn has occasioned a bill on that subject to be brought into Parliament.

One great hindrance, and needless load, upon carrying the produce of the lands of *Britain* to the proper markets within the island, is that of exacting coast-cockets, and bonds under high penalties, for all corn that may be transported coastwise, from one place of *Britain* to another, without the bounds of any navigable river. This method is attended not only with very great delay and charge to all persons concerned in the shipping of corn, but also with the greatest trouble and hindrance to the navigation; and there have been instances, wherein, by neglect of sending the proper certificates for relieving these bonds, that some mariners and others have been ruined by prosecutions following thereupon, though there is not the least necessity for any such securities being granted; and it might be  
shewn,

shewn, that, in many cases, the taking of them may be even hurtful to his Majesty's revenue.

By the act 13th and 14th of *Charles II.* intituled, *An Act for preventing Frauds and Abuses in his Majesty's Customs*, it is enacted, "That if any goods, wares, or merchandises shall be shipped, or put aboard, to be carried forth to the open sea, from any port, creek, or member, &c. to be landed at any other place of this realm, without a sufferance or warrant first had and obtained from the managers of his Majesty's customs; all such wares and merchandise shall be forfeited, and the master enjoined, before the ship be removed out of the port, to take out a cocket, and become bound for delivery and discharge thereof in the port for which the same shall be entered, or some other port within the realm, and to return a certificate of the goods being so landed and discharged."

Upon this law is founded the practice of taking bond, &c. But it is evident, by the very title and nature of the statute, that it was intended to prevent frauds and abuses in his Majesty's customs, and to prevent corn shipped coastwise in any part of the kingdom, from being fraudulently carried out of it \* to parts beyond the seas. There were con-

\* *Being fraudulently carried out of it* (the kingdom).—Possibly no law is more rigorously carried, at all times, into execution than the above; how then can there be any of those illegal exports, which were said lately, in print, to be so notorious, as to need no proof?

siderable duties at that time upon the exportation thereof, which made these bonds and cockets necessary. But by the subsequent wise laws, encouraging the exportation of corn of all sorts, and giving of large bounties on particular kinds thereof, the necessity of these securities was entirely taken away; nay, the continuation of them rendered altogether absurd; for no man will clear corn coastwise which he intends to export, as by this he would lose the bounty. But after corn is shipped coastwise, and the vessel has perhaps proceeded partly on her voyage, if any sudden advance at a foreign market should induce the owner to dispatch his cargo abroad, with such expedition as not to suffer the delay and charge of relanding and shipping, new entries, &c. to entitle him to the bounty, he is totally cut off from this measure, by the impossibility of getting his coast-bond relieved by a proper certificate of the corn being landed in *Britain*. Such circumstances have happened, and will frequently happen, in the corn-trade; and it may be prudent for the merchant to take this course, especially when the corn on board is of the kind whereon the smallest bounties are allowed. In this view of the thing, the practice of bond is hurtful to the revenue, as well as the merchant. And no doubt many cargoes in this situation would have gone abroad, without the bounty, if the coast-security had not stood in the way.



These securities therefore for corn carried coastwise, serve no end but to raise high fees to custom-house officers, to delay and retard navigation; especially when the cargoes may be loaded at creeks perhaps ten or twenty miles distant from the custom-house, they often occasion vessels to lose their passage, or come too late to market, and put the shipmasters to considerable charges, in travelling so far to give their securities, and to trouble, in finding bondsmen to join them; besides the great trouble and expense that is incurred afterwards, by procuring certificates, and transmitting them to the different custom-houses for cancelling the bonds.

It is evident, that all this charge and trouble may be considered as a needless burden on carrying the produce of the lands of *Great Britain* to market.

And it is not to be doubted, that the custom of taking bonds and cockets for home-corn carried coastwise would have been abolished, when that valuable law was made for giving bounties on corn exported, if the above observations had then occurred to the Legislature.

If it should seem hard to risk hurting so valuable an object as the culture of land in *Britain*, by suspending, even at such a juncture as this is, the duties on foreign corn imported; why allow that land to continue loaded with a tax on its produce, when carried coastwise, which answers no good purpose, and which in itself is oppressive and absurd?

The

The city of *London* got free of this oppressive custom, by statute, *imo Annæ cap. 26.* for the whole river *Thames*, and the coast between the promontory called the *North Foreland* on the south, and the promontory called the *Nase* on the north.

The preamble of this statute declares how grievous a thing it was at that time; and that the officers taking cockets and bonds, and exacting fees for the same, was oppressive and illegal.

Ought not therefore the whole kingdom to be freed now in the same manner, by a clause inserted in the corn bill now depending, DECLARING, that, for the future, permits or transires, only shall be necessary for grain carried coastwise from one part of the kingdom of *Britain* to another, at all times while that commodity may be lawfully exported upon bounty, or without payment of duties; and that while corn is prohibited to be exported, as at present, bonds and cockets should be exacted as formerly?



## OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

## PRESENT HIGH PRICES OF CORN.

THE crops in *Britain* and *Ireland* in the year 1755 were very scanty; and it is certain, that on the approach of the last harvest, which proved late, seldom, in the memory of man, had a smaller stock of old grain been known in these islands.

The last season of 1756, from its beginning, was extremely unfavourable; thousands of acres remained unsown; and the bad condition in which many more were sown, rendered them incapable of producing a good crop, although favourable weather has followed. It is certain, that the weather during the spring, summer, and harvest, was generally unfavourable; great quantities of grain perished by the rains and winds, and most of what remained proved defective, both in quantity and substance, by its not duly ripening; and, whatever people prejudiced or ignorant of the general state of these matters may affirm, it is a melancholy truth, that the crops, though middling, or even good for some kinds of grain, in particular counties, have at no time, during thirty years past, through *Britain* and *Ireland*, proved more scanty upon the whole.

In

In this situation, it is the duty of every one who wishes well to his country, to suggest all reasonable methods by which the present exorbitancy in the price of grain may be corrected, and the destructive consequences of another backward season or bad crop may be prevented. This is in all respects the more necessary, as the effects of the last bad season have been almost equally felt over the greatest part of the northern continent of *Europe*, and as a scarcity in any one country must necessarily affect the prices of grain in every neighbouring country.

The Legislature has wisely prohibited all exportation of grain; but it may be doubted whether this prudent precaution will of itself be sufficient for preventing the calamities which another bad season may produce.

Experience has shewn that the price of no sort of grain has been reduced by this measure, though, at this time of the year, corn is generally brought most plentifully by the farmers to market. This also affords a strong proof, that, without the seasonable prohibition of export, the prices would have run higher, and that there is a real defect in the quantity of corn in both islands,

To prevent the forestalling and ingrossing of corn, especially in the neighbourhood of a great city or town, where the millers, bakers, maltsters, &c. may themselves purchase from the growers directly, and take off all the produce, is most ne-

cessary; and strict attention ought to be given to the execution of this measure: but it may be doubted how far the prices of grain will be lowered, by renewing the ancient laws against forestallers and ingrossers, in their full latitude; and many are of opinion, that the late well-intended proclamation has rather been hurtful, than otherwise, in that respect\*.

The counties which are most populous, and where manufactures chiefly flourish in both islands, generally grow less corn than the other counties less populous and less manufacturing. Thus many counties on the east coast generally supply others on their own side, but particularly the west coast of the island, even in times of plenty.

\* It was dated 26 Nov. 1756; and after reciting the 5 and 6 of Ed. 6. c. 14. and the 5 Eliz. c. 12, &c. goes on, *And whereas the prices of corn are already very much increased, and the same is likely to grow much dearer, to the great oppression of the poor; partly because the said acts are not duly put in execution: We have, &c.*—Which words, it was thought at that time, did much harm, in that many of the farmers took the hint to wait for the higher price, and that the dealers being threatened with prosecutions under laws of which many of them had never heard, proceeded with great caution; whereby the circulation in the corn-trade moved very slowly, the price of wheat rose apace, and it became very dear; and this, it was imagined, was in great measure owing to the said proclamation, and may be added to the consequence so well described by the writer further on. In 1772, the several laws against badgers, ingrossers, forestallers, and regraters, were repealed, by the 12 G. 3. c. 71.—EDITOR. 1804.

It is natural, and indeed reasonable, at first view, for people to think, that in times of scarcity there should be no interposition, if possible, between the grower and the consumer, or at least the manufacturer of grain; but this, in fact, is generally impracticable, unless so far as the produce in the neighbourhood of a great city or town will go.

The corn therefore necessary for supplying distant places or counties has always, and generally must be bought and transported to the places where the demand is, by merchants, or others of substance and knowledge in that branch of business.

It is obvious the growers and manufacturers of grain, and far less the consumers, cannot engage in such purchases and transportation of corn to or from distant places. It is also obvious, that the contractors for the sale of such corn, or the agents who may be employed for the purchase of it in the growing counties, must collect great quantities at different places, until opportunities of shipping can be obtained for carrying it off; and this practice, however necessary for the supply of distant places of the island, comes under the letter of the old statutes against forestalling and ingrossing of corn.

This is more particularly so in the case of oats or oatmeal, which by the statute *Car. II. chap. 15.* cannot be bought without licenses, &c. when oats are above 13s. 4d. per quarter. Now, as this price bears no proportion to that of other grain mentioned in that act, the regulation is hurtful in many

parts of the island, especially those the most remote from the capital ; and it is inconceivable how such a disproportion should have been established between the price of oats and other grain in that act.

The consequence of the late proclamation has been, in many growing or shipping counties, to make the common people riotous, and to prevent the buying or shipping of corn even in such quarters of the country where it can be spared, and where the prices are moderate : it being natural for the common people, in such times, to wish for corn still cheaper, and to prevent any thing being shipped or going out of their bounds, especially if the letter of the law gives the least countenance to such a procedure.

The effect of this is immediately to stop all purchases, and to distress the distant and populous places, which depend on their supplies coastways, even in time of plenty. Many such places are in the kingdom, which might be enumerated if the fact were not well known ; and they begin already to feel this inconveniency, it having gone to such a height, that the transportation of corn from one place to another at the distance of a few miles to and even from the sea-coast, has been violently interrupted by the populace \*.

\* See now the 36 G. 3. ch. 9. " To prevent Obstructions to the free Passage of Grain within the Kingdom."—EDIT. 1804.



Dr. *Davenant*, a judicious writer, has observed fifty years ago, that a review of our ancient laws concerning corn was necessary, for they were in no ways suited to the state of the kingdom, increase of people, and other circumstances of the then times. The observation will more forcibly apply to the present times.

This author's thoughts on this subject are worthy of perusal at present, as he points out some methods for preventing dearths for the future, though not indeed applicable in a scarce year. He exposes in the clearest light the fatal consequences of a dearth, especially to a trading nation: such consequences indeed as he mentions are not to be dreaded in our times. Our agriculture has been so immensely improved by the wise institutions of bounties on corn exported; commerce is more practised and better understood; and it may also be reasonably supposed, that our merchants having both more knowledge and capital than in former times, will, by importations from one quarter of the world or another, always prevent a scarcity from becoming intolerable.

But whatever is done by the Legislature for regulating the inland commerce of corn, if no other measures are taken, it will be only festering the wound, and in no sort remove the growing evil; it may indeed make corn cheaper for a time in such counties where it can be spared, and where it is already

ready

ready moderate; but it will doubly distress the distant and manufacturing places.

Quantity is wanted; and nothing but an additional quantity brought to market can effectuate the good end proposed, and enable the poor to purchase at an easy rate.

This may be done in two ways; and both will be necessary at present: first, by prohibiting for a limited time the distillery from wheat in *Britain*, which will add immensely to the quantity for bread; and, secondly, by suspending the duties on all corn that may be imported, at least for some months, or while the prices keep high at home.

As to the first, without entering into the arguments for or against distillery in general, it seems natural and absolutely necessary to prohibit distillers the use of wheat, at least for a time; if that be true which is asserted with great appearance of reason, that half the wheat that comes to the market of *London* at present is bought by distillers; that more of that grain is consumed by them alone within *England* in a year than would maintain 500,000 persons\*, or than the whole quantity of wheat which is consumed in this island northward of *York*. Certainly the saving such a quantity of corn at this juncture is very desirable and necessary.

\* The observator was greatly imposed on in this: I am credibly informed they never used near one sixth part of a quantity sufficient for that purpose.



As to any encroachment on the revenue thereby, without question, in our present situation, that is a tender point; but it is supposed the wheat so used pays little if any thing of the malt-tax, and any deficiency sustained thereby may be more than compensated by the increase of duties on spirits made from barley-malt, by the saving of the whole bounties on corn and malt exported this year, and by the additional duties \* on foreign and *American* spirits that may be imported to supply the want of our own made from wheat.

As to the second part, *viz.* the encouraging of importations from abroad, there is no doubt, if we are not too dilatory in our resolutions, but we can have corn from *America*, the southern parts of *Europe*, *Barbary*, and possibly some places nearer home. But the present duties on most grain, especially wheat, rye, and peas, are in effect equal to a prohibition. The duty on oats is indeed low, but it would still be a sufficient profit to the importer, and consequently an encouragement to bring them into the kingdom.

Why then may not all duties on corn imported be suspended for some months, until the appearance of next crop be seen, or until prices at home become moderate? The interest of the public revenue will not be affected by this, it being indeed our happiness, that, for nineteen years in twenty, these

\* The author means increase of the duties.

duties produce little or nothing; and as to any objections from the landholders and farmers, or the dealers in home-corn, whose gains may be lessened by this measure, they ought to be disregarded at a time when the condition of the poor is so distressful.

If these methods are pursued, large additional quantities will come to market. The very apprehension of a free import of foreign grain, or the appearance of a few cargoes thereof in our ports, will induce all the hoarders of home-grain, whether farmers or dealers, to bring it out to market, and the prices will of course be lowered for the poor.

QUANTITY, and that alone, can frustrate all attempts to ingross or forestall. If there be a good crop, or a proper quantity of grain, either at home or from abroad, to be got for the market, no art or scheme can enhance the price of grain, whatever speculative persons may fancy to themselves; and if there be a bad crop, and the quantities of grain be scanty, no art or regulation of Government will keep the prices low.

These methods will, it is hoped, serve our purpose, if the next season should prove early and favourable; but if these methods should fail, or the season in any degree appear backward, a total prohibition of distillery, and perhaps even of malting, may be necessary. But it would seem that a small bounty upon all corn imported for a limited time, over and

above the suspension of the duties, might answer the end better, and with less real loss or inconvenience to the revenue or kingdom.

---

[These two papers appear to have been printed about the year 1757, and are here copied exactly, except the quotation out of 15 *Car.* II. in the first, which is copied from the statute.]

2000. The first of these is the fact that the  
theoretical model of the system is not yet  
complete. The second is the fact that the  
theoretical model of the system is not yet  
complete.

The first of these is the fact that the  
theoretical model of the system is not yet  
complete. The second is the fact that the  
theoretical model of the system is not yet  
complete.

CONSIDERATIONS  
ON THE  
L A W S  
RELATING TO THE  
IMPORTATION AND EXPORTATION  
OF  
CORN:  
BEING  
AN INQUIRY  
WHAT ALTERATION MAY BE MADE IN THEM FOR THE  
BENEFIT OF THE PUBLIC.

---

WROTE IN THE BEGINNING OF THE YEAR 1759.

## ADVERTISEMENT.

THE following treatise was wrote in the beginning of the year 1759, for the use of a particular gentleman, who soon returned the manuscript, which has been since lent to several others; notwithstanding which, the author hath taken the liberty to make some corrections therein, and additions thereto, the most material of which became necessary on account of the late alterations in the corn-laws in *France*, and are marked thus †. As to the rest, the substance is the same as at first.

# CONSIDERATIONS,

&c.

---

## SECTION I.

THE variety in the seasons, one year from another, will ever cause fluctuations in the price of every thing which depends on them; and it seems as possible to regulate the seasons, as by any law to order it so, that corn shall always remain at one fixed and certain PRICE; and for this reason, should any thing of that sort at any time be attempted, it would certainly fail.

Besides, could any regulation of that sort be carried into execution, it would tend to lessen the economy of the common people, and the attempt would greatly discourage tillage.

The economy of the common people would be lessened by knowing at what price they could buy bread, which is their principal expense; and many of them would act too much like many of those who subsist on certain salaries, that is, calculate their expenses in so exact a proportion to their income, that they would find a very small accidental loss extremely difficult to recover.



Few of those whose incomes and expenses are certain, are known to lay up any great matter beforehand; and it will be generally found, that those whose incomes and expenses are uncertain, are the best husbands; and this, because they are thereby obliged to a constant economy, and to strive, if possible, to have something in store for accidents.

The attempting such a regulation would greatly discourage tillage, as the farmer would be thereby assured, that, should he have the misfortune to lose half his crop, he could receive no indemnification by selling the remainder at a higher price.

These inconveniencies seem naturally to attend the attempting such a regulation, and it may be questioned if any good purpose could be answered thereby.

All that can be done by the Legislature in this matter is, to frame their laws so as to prevent grain from being at any time either so dear that the poor cannot subsist, or so cheap that the farmer cannot live by growing of it, which hath been, or at least should have been, the general view of all governments in their corn-laws; and no regulations that have ever been made, in any country, in regard thereto, can have answered these ends better than those established in this kingdom; which in general are these, viz. permitting an importation at a low duty when dear, and by a high duty prohibiting it when cheap; and at the same time, in order to the encouragement and increase of tillage, giving  
a bounty

a bounty on the exportation, and securing the property of all persons who shall trade therein for that end.

The bounty was first given on the exportation of grain in the year 1689, now seventy years since \*; during which period, grain hath in general been from fifteen to twenty *per cent.* cheaper than for forty years before that time, which is a good proof of the utility of the law by which it is ordered to be given, and which is further proved, in that, since its first establishment, the Parliament have not thought fit to suspend it, either in part or the whole, only four times, viz. in 1698, 1709, 1740, and 1757; which last suspension is still in force, and to continue to *Christmas* next †.

That corn has been as much cheaper since the bounties took place as before mentioned, is so notorious, that the prices thereof to which the bounties are payable by law, which, when first established, were thought *moderate*, and under which the then Parliament thought the farmer could not afford to grow it, are now thought *very dear*; and long before corn is sold at those prices at which the bounties are to cease of course, we have of late heard clamours for taking the bounty off, and stopping the exportation.

\* This was wrote in the month of *Jan.* 1759.

† The stat. 32 Geo. 2. chap. 2. which enacted this prohibition, was, in pursuance of a clause therein, by chap. 9. repealed after 25 *March* 1759.

## SECT. II.

Few understand the nature of the corn-trade so well as to be able to determine justly, if it would be proper to make any alteration in this matter ; and even amongst those few, much the greater part are interested in the question, and therefore all should be heard with great caution.

And so different are their opinions, that whilst one urges the necessity of taking off the bounty now paid on the exportation of corn, for the future, because, as he thinks, it tends to make bread too dear for the poor ; it is pressed by another as making corn so cheap, that the farmers cannot live ; and this author seems to think, that no other country can export corn but our own, and that foreigners must have it at what price we please.

A third contends that the bounties should not be withdrawn for the same reason, saying, the same effect will follow, and that to such a degree, that the farmer could not go on without a great abatement in his rent ; adding, moreover, that, were the bounties taken away, our shipping would decrease, and consequently our seamen ; and therefore he concludes, that the continuing to give a bounty on the exportation of corn is necessary to the well-being of the nation.

A fourth says, a bounty should be continued, giving for instance wheat, which, in his opinion, should never be sold under 3*s.* 6*d.* nor for more than 4*s.* a bushel ; and proposes, in order to keep

it in this medium, that a bounty of *6d.* a bushel be continued when the price of the bushel doth not exceed *4s. 6d.* and, when it exceeds *5s.* proposes that a duty of *8d.* a bushel be paid on the exportation, which duty should go towards the bounty when corn is low.

## SECT. III.

Although it might be much easier to shew that most of these propositions are calculated to serve particular interests, than to determine what is right and fit to be done ; yet the present time, during the SUSPENSION of the law, is most undoubtedly the proper time to consider the question, since no plea can now be made against any alteration in the affair, on account of its tending to deprive any set of men of their present livelihood, and we have also an opportunity of seeing the corn-trade at present carried on without either exportation or bounty. Let us, therefore, suppose the question, in relation to both importation and exportation, to be stated as follows :

First, Is it proper to allow of any importation or exportation of corn for the future ?

Secondly, If it is proper to allow of importation and exportation of corn, should it be done under any and what encouragements, restrictions, and regulations ?

Thirdly, Are those encouragements, restrictions, and regulations, if any are necessary, to be made

certain and remain fixed? Or, is any and what power of varying them from time to time, to be lodged in any and what hands?

To which questions the following answers may be given:

First, As it would be contrary to common sense to think, when our own growth is not sufficient for our consumption, of prohibiting the importation, so it would be highly unreasonable, when we have corn to spare, to deny the liberty of exporting the surplus; and, therefore, both importation and exportation of corn must be allowed for the future.

Secondly, As it appears, that under the present encouragement, restrictions, and regulations relative to the importation and exportation of corn, most of which have now subsisted seventy years, that commodity hath in general been as cheap, and wheat in particular cheaper, than before they took place; it may fairly be concluded, that to them such cheapness hath been owing; and, therefore, both the one and the other should still be allowed under some *such* encouragement, restrictions, and regulations, as are now subsisting, though at present suspended.

Thirdly, From the same reason the success of the present laws in relation to corn, which are certain and fixed, with a power of variation, lodged in either of the two quarter-sessions next after *Michaelmas* and *Easter* in *London*, and in every quarter-sessions in all other parts of the kingdom,

as to the opening the ports for importation only ; we must conclude that it is best for them to remain much on the same footing ; and, if any alterations are made therein, they must consist only in regard to exportation ; either in lessening the bounty, paying it to a lesser PRICE, or, perhaps, taking it quite away ; and, in regard to importation, in a new regulation of the *duties* payable in that case, or in regard to the opening the *ports*\* for that purpose.

## SECT. IV.

The better to determine what may be done in each of these particulars, the following positions may be laid down, viz. :

1. Corn may at some price be so cheap, that the *grower* will not have a reasonable reward for his labour.

2. At some other price so dear, that the *poor* may find it difficult to purchase it.

3. And it may also be at so moderate a price, that both the *poor* may afford to purchase, and the *farmer* afford to grow it at the same time.

Now, it seems very clear, could the prices at which corn may be said to be *cheap, reasonable,*

\* By opening the *ports* is meant, the certifying from the quarter-sessions to the collector of the customs, that the prices of grain are so high, that it is chargeable with the low *duties* only ; and, for want of such certificate, the full duties are to be taken, and they amount to a prohibition. See stat. 1 Jac. 2. c. 29. 2 G. 2. c. 18. and 5 G. 2. c. 12.



or *dear*, be ascertained, it would be of great use in determining what alterations might be made, with propriety, in all or any of the present corn-laws.

And, for the ascertaining those prices, we have only to refer to the register of *Eton* college, and the statutes which give a bounty on the exportation of corn, adding a reflection or two.

By the said register it appears, that the average prices of the *best* wheat and malt, nine gallon measure, have been for 164 years as follows :

Number of Years, and when.			Prices.	
No.	From	To	Qr. Wheat.	Qr. Malt.
51	1595	1646	2 5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 5 5 $\frac{1}{2}$
40	1646	1686	2 11 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 9 4
40	1686	1726	2 5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 7 5 $\frac{1}{4}$
33	1726	1759	1 18 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 7 4
91	1595	1686	2 8 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 7 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
73	1686	1759	1 18 11	1 7 3
164	1595	1759	2 4 0 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 7 6 $\frac{1}{4}$

And the said statutes ordering the bounty to be paid on wheat till 48*s.* rye till 32*s.* malt and barley till barley is 24*s.* and oatmeal till oats are 15*s.* shew, that till the several grains exceed the said prices, they are to be esteemed *cheap*; and that when the bounty ceases, they are not to be thought *dear*,



*dear*, till the prices, except *oats* \*, are considerably advanced, for the duties are so very heavy as to prevent any importation till wheat is 53*s.* 4*d.* barley 32*s.* rye 40*s.* and oats 16*s.*; and, though they should exceed these prices, the duties must still be paid, till the port hath been opened; which can only be done at certain seasons, and in a particular manner, as mentioned page 103 in the note.

We can by no means suppose the Legislature had an intention to keep grain up to these last, or even to the bounty prices. The views of these laws are most evidently no other than to give all possible encouragement to agriculture and the growth of corn, by opening to the farmer a certain market for his surplus, and assuring him at the same time, that, in case of a failure in his crop, foreign corn shall not be imported on him till the necessity of the people requires it, and the price is so far advanced as to put it in his power in some measure to make up his loss.

And the consequences have answered; for agriculture hath been so much extended, and the art of husbandry so much better attended to, and managed with so much more judgment and success, since the passing the above laws, and under the protection and encouragement they give, than it was before that time; that, although large quantities of all sorts of grain have been exported, and wheat is much more

\* The bounty is payable on oatmeal till oats are 15*s.*; and yet at 16*s.* the low duty commences.

generally used for bread by the common people \*, yet the price thereof is considerably sunk, and the price of malt and other grain is not advanced; and also, although the rents of lands have, in general, been very much raised, yet the farmers are, for the most part, men in much better circumstances than when those laws first took place.

From what hath been recited and observed, may be collected at what prices corn may be esteemed *cheap, reasonable, or dear*; or, in other words, what the consumer can afford to give, and the growers afford to take; and this from what hath been done for a considerable time, and by making a comparison between the state of the affair, not only at the precise time the laws were made, and the state thereof at present; but, as to the prices of grain, by comparing the averages thereof for ninety-one years preceding with seventy-three since they took place.

And we may venture to fix the price of the quarter of each sort containing eight bushels of the *Winchester* or statute measure, as follows, *viz.*

Wheat	to 36s.	} per quarter,	{ 42s. 22s. 28s. }	} moderate, and then dear.
Barley	to 18s.			
Rye	to 24s.			

\* See Supp. ch. 5. sec. 16 and 17, where this is remarked, and it there appears that a labouring man spends sixpence a week more for wheaten than for rye bread; from which increase of expense arise those complaints we have so frequently heard of late of the high price of wheat long before it is sold at 48s. when the bounty is to cease; the bread made of wheat being always dearer than that made of any other grain.

Pease may be reckoned as wheat, and beans as rye.

Oats to 12s. per quarter cheap, to 16s. moderate, and then dear.

We keep oats at 16s. as before, because it hath been said, and with an appearance of reason, that they were permitted to be imported at too low a price \*, in proportion to the other grain.

From the above prices it may be concluded, that each of the grains should be exported freely, till it exceeds the moderate price, and afterwards till the ports are open for importation, if not without, at least with a small duty; say wheat 6*d.* barley 3*d.* rye 4*d.* and oats 3*d.* per bushel; but as these duties would amount nearly to a *prohibition* †, it may be better not to impose them.

From thence it also appears, that the farmer will have no need of a bounty; provided corn continues on the average as high as it hath done since the bounty took place.

\* See note, page 105.

† It would be adding twenty-five per cent. to the first cost of wheat; the ceasing of the bounty adds  $12\frac{1}{2}$ , and that would be a sufficient check; for example, say wheat costs 36s. in the market, a bounty of 4s. reduces it to 32s. Now 4s. is  $\frac{1}{8}$ th of 32s. *i. e.*  $12\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. and, consequently, was the like duty to commence when the bounty ceases, it would be 25 per cent.; besides, it is an experiment which hath been already tried; for when, in 1688, the bounty was given, the act of 22 Car. 2. which makes custom payable on wheat exported after 48s. was not repealed, but after twelve years experience, viz. in 1700, it was repealed by 11 and 12 W. 3.; and what is remarkable, it had been so dear the year before, that the bounty was suspended, and the price was 40s. at the time.

But

But as all experiments, which may possibly hurt or discourage agriculture, should be very cautiously made, it may be very proper to allow, for times certain, a bounty on wheat, barley, and rye; but lesser than the present *bounties*\*, and payable to lesser prices, and lessening every year till the whole are taken off, which we may suppose as follows, *viz.* wheat 6*d.* per bushel till 36*s.* per quarter, for one year, to decrease  $\frac{2}{4}$  per bushel each year after, till the whole is taken off. Barley 3*d.* per bushel, till 18*s.* per quarter, for one year, to decrease  $\frac{1}{2}$  per bushel each year after, till the whole is taken off. Rye 4*d.* a bushel, till 24*s.* per quarter, for one year, to decrease  $\frac{1}{2}$  per bushel each year after, till the whole is taken off. By which means it might be known without any great *hazard*†, how far the bounty on

\* The present *bounties* are as under:

Wheat till	48 <i>s.</i> — 5 <i>s.</i> 0 <i>d.</i>
Rye till	32 <i>s.</i> — 3 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Barley till	24 <i>s.</i> — 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>
Oatmeal till oats are	15 <i>s.</i> — 2 <i>s.</i> 6 <i>d.</i>

Malt receives the same as barley; and by statute 3 G. c. 7. sec. 14 and 15, every *two* quarters of barley is to be esteemed to make *three* quarters of malt, and the duty is paid accordingly; by which means, with the expense of *two*-pence per quarter, paid by the excise for breakage on the shipping it off, the bounty given on every quarter of barley made into malt for exportation is four shillings, which, if the price was always twenty shillings, is 20 per cent. whereas *two* shillings and sixpence on barley is only 12 $\frac{1}{2}$  per cent.; by which means the exportation of malt is greatly encouraged.

† Between the writing and printing these Considerations, reasons have arisen to alter these opinions, as will be explained further on, and distinguished thus †.

corn

corn might be altered or withdrawn without discouraging tillage.

Whilst a bounty is allowed, we apprehend no better method can be found of ascertaining that the prices do not exceed those to which it is payable, than the old method of the exporter's oath, on making the entry in order to the taking out the debenture, that the average price of the grain to be exported did not exceed the bounty price the last market-day.

## SECT. V.

As to the IMPORTATION : in order to know if any new regulations or alterations in the duties payable on corn imported, and in regard to opening the ports for that purpose, should be made, it is necessary, first, to give a short account how these matters now stand.

The duties payable for the several sorts of grain on importation, are noted by Mr. *Saxby*, in his *Book of Rates*, as follows :

Grain.	Duties.		Duties.		Duties.
Beans to 28s. per qr.	19s. 10d.	after till	40s. 16s. 8d.	then	12d.
Barley to 28s.	—	19s. 10d.	—	32s. 16s.	— 12d.
Malt is prohibited.					
Oats to 16s.	—	5s. 10d.	after —	—	9½d.
Pease to 40s.	—	16s. 0d.	after —	—	9¾d.
Rye to 36s.	—	19s. 10d.	till 40s.	16s. 8d.	then 12d.
Wheat to 44s.	—	21s. 9d.	till 53s. 4d.	17s.	then 8s.
till 4l. and after that about 1s. 4d.					
Buck-wheat to 32s. per qr.	to pay 16s.				

And



And the collector of the customs is to govern himself, in regard to taking the duties, by certificates of the prices of corn, which may be made by the justices of the peace in every quarter-session, except in *London*, where the magistrates are empowered to certify in *October* and *April* only.

The above duties amount to a prohibition on each sort of grain, except oats \*, till the prices are very high, which tends greatly to encourage our own tillage, as hath been before observed ; and therefore no great alteration should be made. But there are some who are of opinion, that if oats were to be charged 5s. 10d. till 18s. per quarter, and if the low duties were to commence on beans at 36s. on barley at 28s. on rye at 36s. on wheat and pease at 50s. the affair would stand rather more on an equality, and no inconvenience could arise.

And they add further, that it would be well if a certain price were fixed at which, the same being duly certified, corn might be imported, for a time certain, duty free ; as nothing will tend more to keep the price moderate, and the desires of farmers and all other holders of corn within reasonable bounds, than being under a constant apprehension of such an importation.

As to the present method of taking the duties according to the certificates of the price of corn,

\* It is to be observed, the importation of oats hath far exceeded that of all other grain, being more than two parts in three of the whole, as may be seen in the Collection of Papers, &c.

made by the justices in every quarter-sessions, and of the magistrates in *London* in *October* and *April*, it seems founded in reason, and fit to be continued. For if the crop hath failed, it begins to be felt in *October*, and if it is nearly expended, it is known in *April*, in which two months the magistrates in *London* are to certify; and if they certify that corn is so high as to be imported at the low duty, the importation must continue for six months; which, in regard to that port, is very reasonable, for if they had it in their power to allow of the importation for three months only, it would not be of any great utility, since nobody would venture to load any quantity, as the time might possibly elapse before the arrival, to the loss of the importer. And the certificates of the justices in every quarter-sessions out of *London*, seem as proper in regard to the circumstances of most other places, and as well adapted for their service, as the regulation for *London* doth for the service thereof; for in them, or most of them, a small additional quantity will carry them on for three months; and if enough doth not arrive in that time, they can continue the port open, by certifying anew, for three months longer.

These certificates may be made either in the quarter-sessions, or at any adjournment thereof, and the making them seems to be discretionary, not compulsory; and that it should be so is quite necessary, since it may accidentally happen that the prices of corn may, for one or two market-days

next



next before the sessions, be at so high a rate, as to allow of the importation; and an importation improperly allowed may be very hurtful to the farmer.

Therefore the method that hath at some times been taken, of adjourning the sessions for this particular purpose, is very prudent; and it might be proper always to adjourn the consideration of all petitions as may be presented in regard to this affair in the *Michaelmas* sessions, till about the 20th of *November*, as by that time it will be known if the high prices are owing to the shortness of the crops, lateness of the harvest, want of arrivals, or to any other cause.

When corn is once imported, in pursuance of these certificates, it cannot be reshipped, except for exportation abroad, and not to carry coastways in *Britain*; and with good reason, for particular importations should be so ordered, that, whilst they are of service to the place for which they are intended, they may not hurt the farmers in other parts. So far for particular importations, for the laws as they now stand regard no other.

#### SECT. VI.

General IMPORTATIONS have been esteemed by our legislators of the greatest moment, and they can never be permitted, but by a new law expressly made for that purpose, as is at present the case; and if ever the power of permitting them is intrusted by the Parliament to any but themselves, it seems as if it can be no where safely lodged, but in the  
King

King and Council; and whenever the question comes before them, they will undoubtedly proceed with the greatest caution; the state of the markets in all foreign parts, from which corn may be imported, as well as the state of our own markets throughout the kingdom, and the time of the year, will be considered.

At *Michaelmas*, a late harvest may make corn in general dear for a time, although there may be a sufficient stock in the kingdom: then, and at all times, contrary winds, and in war-time want of convoy, and every other means which tends to prevent the free transportation or circulation of grain from one part of the nation to another (which circulation there can be no doubt but all in power, in imitation of the Legislature, will always promote, protect, and encourage), may make corn dear in particular places; and if a sudden rise in the price, occasioned by the above or any other accidental stops in the circulation, should at any time be mistaken for a real scarcity, and a general importation allowed, it may be the cause of having so much corn imported in six months (and such importation will scarcely ever be granted for a lesser time) as to make our own farmers labour for nothing the whole year, or perhaps longer, and consequently greatly discourage tillage.

It will throw some light on this reasoning to consider, that a general failure of the crops throughout *Europe* is but rarely the case; and though it may

happen that our own growth may be so short as to require a permission of either a general or particular importation, yet, at the same time, some neighbouring kingdoms may have so much corn to spare, as, if either is allowed without restriction, to be able in a few months to import so great a quantity, that our own farmers may not be able to get a common price, though they have but a very short crop. Which was the case a few years since in the port of *London*, with regard to oats.

When a general importation is allowed, it should not be for less than six months, for the same reason as in the particular at *London*\*, viz. a small quantity would be of little or no use, and if the time limited for importation is too short, no great quantity can arrive.

As in particular importations none of the corn imported should be reshipped, to be carried coastways in *Great Britain*, because such importations are for the service of particular parts of the kingdom; so, on the contrary, whenever a general importation is allowed, the corn imported should be permitted to be reshipped and carried coastways to any other part of the kingdom with the same freedom as corn of our own growth, because such importations are for the benefit of the kingdom in general.

There is an opinion, that, as the law now stands, the exportation of grain can be prohibited

\* Altered last sessions to every three months.

only by the *Parliament* \*, which may, strictly speaking, be true, more especially in time of peace ; but surely the King, by his prerogative, may at any time, particularly in time of war, prevent it by an embargo. And it might be proper to empower him to do it at all times by proclamation, with the advice of his Council, which Mr. *Burn* says he may, and quotes an act 1 *Ja.* I. ; but this power was only an exception to that act, and was, at least virtually, repealed both by 22 *Car.* II. and 1 *Wm.* and *Mary*.

The Parliament hath, in the act for suspending the laws till *Christmas* next, 1759, reserved a power of making any alteration during their present sessions ; and if corn continues cheap, and it can be done without hazard of assisting the enemy, they may possibly allow an exportation † ; and it deserves consideration, if that be done, whether it should not be without a bounty for the remainder of the year, as was the case in 1699 ; and whenever corn is allowed to be exported again with a bounty, whether an inquiry should not be made, if there is any foundation for the rumour of the bounty having been paid

\* This opinion appears to be right, by the passing of the act of 5 G. 3. cap. 31. to authorize the King and Council to prohibit the exportation of wheat during the prorogation in 1765.

† It was by stat. 32 G. 2. c. 8. allowed to be exported without any restriction, and with the bounty.

for great quantities of corn which were never exported \*.

Nothing but experience can shew, how far any of the alterations here proposed may be of service. We are certain that the present corn-laws have had their desired effect, and therefore should alter them with great caution, and this the rather, since, how light soever some amongst us may think of them, two very sensible late *French* authors ‡ attribute to them, and to the act of navigation, the present figure we make in *Europe*, and press the making the like for their own kingdom.

#### SECT. VII.

† And the sentiments of those writers have been so far adopted by the government, that, between the

\* A report, which hath long subsided, was current in the year 1759, that, in some of the out-ports, means had been found to impose on the officers of the Customs, in whose presence the corn is measured into every vessel, the first time she loads in bulk, and to make them certify, that many of them held more than in fact they did: if there was any truth in this report, surely it could not be done as to malt; for, by stat. 3 G. 2. c. 7. § 14 and 15. all malt made for exportation is to be locked up by, and shipped under the inspection of, the Excise officer.

However, all frauds in the exportation of corn may easily be prevented for the future, by making the bounty payable on the proof that the corn is landed according to the entry, or lost; which proof the master of the vessel might be bound to make in like manner as he is in regard to his having made the payments to *Greenwich* hospital.

‡ *Les Intérêts de la France mal entendus*, and *L'Ami des Hommes*.

writing and printing these *Considerations*, the King hath published two remarkable EDICTS ||; one allowing all persons to trade in corn, and to circulate it freely throughout the whole kingdom; the other authorizing and encouraging the exportation and importation thereof; the exportation to cease when wheat hath been for three following market-days, at a price which answers to about 48s. our quarter, statute-measure; and there are those who say, that they are fully persuaded they shall live to see as good a bounty given for corn exported from *France* as is given from *England*.

† These proceedings of the *French* should at least put us on our guard as to any alterations we may think of making in relation to the bounty; for if those edicts are continued and attended with success, we shall not only lose our corn-trade in *France*, but also meet the *French* as competitors in that trade, in all other foreign markets.

† Therefore the hints thrown out, page 107, of reducing the bounty, paying it to the prices there mentioned, and taking it entirely off by degrees, which in 1759 it was thought might be attempted *without any great hazard*, seem now, in the year 1766, highly improper; and that it would be wrong, even to think of taking the bounty entirely off, or to reduce it, and at the same time pay it to lesser prices. One of the last two may, however, surely be done,

|| See an account of them, Supp. ch. 2. sec. 8 and 9.



without any great risk; and we might either continue the same bounties, but payable to lesser prices, say wheat to 40s. and the rest in proportion; or reduce them, say one third, and continue to pay them to the same prices as at present.

† Was the first carried into execution, we should in general continue to send our corn to foreign markets on as good terms as heretofore, but when it should happen to rise to the prices at which the bounty would cease, it would be so great and sudden a check, as might turn the trade into another channel for some time; and it may accidentally rise to that price either just before or soon after harvest, and yet, at the same time, the stock in hand may be so large that a great quantity may be spared for exportation, and corn sold for a moderate price in the remaining part of the year and until the next harvest.

† If the second was to be the law, as the markets abroad always regulate the prices at which corn is bought here for exportation, the merchant must always buy at so much less as the deduction in the bounty, to be on a par with them; and consequently, what he shall buy will tend less to raise the market here, a very large sum would be annually saved in the bounty, and no interruption would happen to the exportation trade, by the ceasing of the bounty, until the high price should require it.

## CONCLUSION.

The purport of all that hath been said is this, that as the variety of the seasons will always prevent the price of corn being fixed by a law, and could it be done, it would be attended with inconveniences, and the attempt would discourage tillage; therefore all that can be done, is to regulate the matter so, that it may be kept in a due medium; which our present laws have done beyond expectation; and consequently, that every attempt to alter them, with the least probability of success, must be made by comparing the state of the affair before the time they were made, with the state thereof since they have been in force, which hath been endeavoured, with what propriety we freely submit, but could wish, whether any alteration is made or not, all the laws relating to the corn-trade were reduced into one Act of Parliament.



A  
COLLECTION  
OF  
PAPERS  
RELATIVE TO THE  
PRICE, EXPORTATION, AND IMPORTATION  
OF  
CORN:  
WITH SOME  
OBSERVATIONS AND CALCULATIONS,  
SHEWING

What the Nation may be supposed to have gained by giving the Bounty on the Exportation; what the Quantity of each Sort of Corn annually consumed, exported, imported, and grown, may amount to, and the Proportions they severally bear each to the other.



\_\_\_\_\_

Year.	Wheat qr.			Malt qr.			Stat. Meas.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1595	—	2	0	—	1	0	—	1	11
1596	—	2	8	—	1	6	—	1	17
1597	—	3	9	—	2	6	—	2	14
1598	—	2	16	—	1	12	—	2	4
1599	—	1	19	—	1	3	—	1	10
1600	—	1	17	—	1	0	—	1	9
1601	—	1	14	—	1	4	—	1	7
1602	—	1	9	—	0	17	—	1	3
1603	—	1	15	—	0	14	—	1	7
1604	—	1	10	—	0	14	—	1	4
*1605	—	1	15	—	1	2	—	1	8
1606	—	1	13	—	0	19	—	1	6
1607	—	1	16	—	0	18	—	1	8
1608	—	2	16	—	1	4	—	2	4
1609	—	2	10	—	1	9	—	1	19
1610	—	1	15	—	0	19	—	1	8
1611	—	1	18	—	0	19	—	1	10
1612	—	2	2	—	1	5	—	1	13
1613	—	2	8	—	1	6	—	1	18
1614	—	2	1	—	1	7	—	1	12
1615	—	1	18	—	1	5	—	1	10
1616	—	2	0	—	1	4	—	1	11



# 124 PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE PRICE,

*An Account of the true Market-price of Wheat and Malt in Windsor Market, from 1595 inclusive to 1765 exclusive.—Continued.*

Year.	Wheat qr.			Malt qr.			Stat. Meas.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
1617	—	2	8	8	—	1	0	4	—	1	18	5 $\frac{4}{5}$
1618	—	2	6	8	—	1	0	0	—	1	16	10 $\frac{5}{8}$
1619	—	1	15	4	—	0	19	8	—	1	7	11 $\frac{1}{8}$
1620	—	1	10	4	—	0	18	8	—	1	3	11 $\frac{8}{8}$
1621	—	1	10	4	—	0	16	0	—	1	3	11 $\frac{8}{8}$
1622	—	2	18	8	—	1	6	0	—	2	6	4 $\frac{3}{5}$
1623	—	2	12	0	—	1	11	2	—	2	3	3 $\frac{7}{6}$
1624	—	2	8	0	—	1	3	4	—	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{5}$
*1625	—	2	12	0	—	1	1	6	—	2	3	3 $\frac{7}{6}$
1626	—	2	9	4	—	1	7	8	—	1	18	11 $\frac{7}{6}$
1627	—	1	16	0	—	1	0	0	—	1	8	5 $\frac{3}{6}$
1628	—	1	8	0	—	0	18	0	—	1	2	1 $\frac{5}{6}$
1629	—	2	2	0	—	1	4	0	—	1	13	2 $\frac{2}{6}$
1630	—	2	15	8	—	1	14	0	—	2	3	11 $\frac{7}{6}$
1631	—	3	8	0	—	1	18	8	—	2	13	8 $\frac{7}{6}$
1632	—	2	13	4	—	1	11	0	—	2	2	1 $\frac{7}{6}$
1633	—	2	18	0	—	1	8	0	—	2	5	10
1634	—	2	15	0	—	1	12	4	—	2	4	3
1635	—	2	16	0	—	1	7	8	—	2	4	3
1636	—	2	16	8	—	1	8	8	—	2	4	9 $\frac{3}{6}$
1637	—	2	13	0	—	1	19	4	—	2	1	10 $\frac{5}{6}$
1638	—	2	17	4	—	2	2	4	—	2	5	3 $\frac{6}{6}$
1639	—	2	4	10	—	1	11	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	—	1	15	5 $\frac{1}{6}$
1640	—	2	4	8	—	1	7	8	—	1	15	3 $\frac{5}{6}$
1641	—	2	8	0	—	1	9	0	—	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{6}$
1642	wanting in the account. The year 1646 supplied by Bishop Fleetwood.											
1643												
1644												
*1645												
1646	—	2	8	0	—	1	9	0	—	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{6}$
1647	—	3	13	8	—	1	17	0	—	2	8	2 $\frac{5}{6}$
1648	—	4	5	0	—	2	0	0	—	3	7	2
1649	—	4	0	0	—	2	2	0	—	3	3	2 $\frac{5}{6}$
1650	—	3	16	8	—	1	18	6	—	3	0	7
1651	—	3	13	4	—	1	9	0	—	2	17	11 $\frac{3}{6}$
1652	—	2	9	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	19	1 $\frac{3}{6}$
1653	—	1	15	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	8	0 $\frac{6}{6}$

\* Note, these are the last years included in each average.

*An Account of the true Market-price of Wheat and Malt in Windsor Market, from 1595 inclusive to 1765 exclusive.—Continued.*

Year.	Wheat qr.			Malt qr.			Stat. Meas. Wheat qr.					
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.			
1654	—	1	6	0	—	1	0	8	—	1	0	6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1655	—	1	13	4	—	1	0	0	—	1	6	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1656	—	2	3	0	—	1	4	0	—	1	13	11 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1657	—	2	6	8	—	1	8	4	—	1	16	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1658	—	3	5	0	—	1	9	4	—	2	11	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1659	—	3	6	0	—	2	8	8	—	2	12	1 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1660	—	2	16	6	—	1	12	8	—	2	4	7 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1661	—	3	10	0	—	1	13	4	—	2	15	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1662	—	3	14	0	—	2	2	0	—	2	18	5 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1663	—	2	17	0	—	1	12	8	—	2	5	0 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1664	—	2	0	6	—	1	10	0	—	1	12	0
*1665	—	2	9	4	—	1	8	4	—	1	18	11 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1666	—	1	16	0	—	1	6	0	—	1	8	5 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1667	—	1	16	0	—	1	2	8	—	1	8	5 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1668	—	2	0	0	—	1	4	0	—	1	11	6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1669	—	2	4	4	—	1	7	4	—	1	15	0 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1670	—	2	1	8	—	1	6	6	—	1	12	11 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1671	—	2	2	0	—	1	5	4	—	1	13	2 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1672	—	2	1	0	—	1	2	0	—	1	12	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1673	—	2	6	8	—	1	4	0	—	1	16	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1674	—	3	8	8	—	1	14	0	—	2	14	3 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1675	—	3	4	8	—	1	14	0	—	2	11	1 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1676	—	1	18	0	—	1	6	0	—	1	10	0 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1677	—	2	2	0	—	1	8	0	—	1	13	2 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1678	—	2	19	0	—	1	8	8	—	2	6	7 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1679	—	3	0	0	—	1	6	8	—	2	7	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1680	—	2	5	0	—	1	2	8	—	1	15	6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1681	—	2	6	8	—	1	4	8	—	1	16	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1682	—	2	4	0	—	1	8	0	—	1	14	9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1683	—	2	0	0	—	1	8	8	—	1	11	6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1684	—	2	4	0	—	1	5	4	—	1	14	9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
*1685	—	2	6	8	—	1	8	0	—	1	16	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1686	—	1	14	0	—	1	5	4	—	1	6	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1687	—	1	5	2	—	1	4	0	—	0	19	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1688	—	2	6	0	—	1	2	0	—	1	16	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1689	—	1	10	0	—	1	0	0	—	1	3	8 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1690	—	1	14	8	—	0	19	4	—	1	7	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1691	—	1	14	0	—	0	17	4	—	1	6	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1692	—	2	6	8	—	1	4	4	—	1	16	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>
1693	—	3	7	8	—	1	10	0	—	2	13	5 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>8</sub>

1694

*An Account of the true Market-price of Wheat and Malt in Windsor Market, from 1595 inclusive to 1765 exclusive.—Continued.*

Year.		Wheatqr.				Malt qr.				Stat. Meas.		
		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1694	—	3	4	0	—	1	12	0	—	2	10	6 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1695	—	2	13	0	—	1	12	0	—	1	1	10 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1696	—	3	11	0	—	1	8	0	—	2	16	0 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1697	—	3	0	0	—	1	8	0	—	2	7	4 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1698	—	3	8	4	—	1	12	0	—	2	14	0
1699	—	3	4	0	—	1	19	4	—	2	10	6 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1700	—	2	0	0	—	1	11	4	—	1	11	6 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1701	—	1	17	8	—	1	4	0	—	1	9	9 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1702	—	1	9	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	3	3 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1703	—	1	16	0	—	1	3	4	—	1	8	5 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1704	—	2	6	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	16	8 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
*1705	—	1	10	0	—	1	6	0	—	1	3	8 <sup>4</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1706	—	1	6	0	—	1	2	0	—	1	0	6 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1707	—	1	8	6	—	1	3	4	—	1	2	6 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1708	—	2	1	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	12	9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1709	—	3	18	6	—	1	13	4	—	3	2	0 <sup>3</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1710	—	3	18	0	—	1	16	0	—	3	1	7 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1711	—	2	14	0	—	1	15	4	—	2	2	8
1712	—	2	6	4	—	1	10	8	—	1	16	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1713	—	2	11	0	—	1	7	0	—	2	0	3 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1714	—	2	10	4	—	1	9	4	—	1	19	9 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1715	—	2	3	0	—	1	10	8	—	1	13	11 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1716	—	2	8	0	—	1	8	0	—	1	17	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1717	—	2	5	8	—	1	5	4	—	1	16	1
1718	—	1	18	10	—	1	4	8	—	1	10	8 <sup>2</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1719	—	1	15	0	—	1	6	8	—	1	7	7 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1720	—	1	17	0	—	1	11	4	—	1	9	2 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1721	—	1	17	6	—	1	8	4	—	1	9	7 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1722	—	1	16	0	—	1	2	8	—	1	8	5 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1723	—	1	14	8	—	1	3	8	—	1	7	4 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1724	—	1	17	0	—	1	10	0	—	1	9	2 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
*1725	—	2	8	6	—	1	8	0	—	1	18	3 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1726	—	2	6	0	—	1	8	0	—	1	16	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1727	—	2	2	0	—	1	8	0	—	1	13	2 <sup>8</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1728	—	2	14	6	—	1	12	0	—	2	3	0 <sup>7</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1729	—	2	6	10	—	1	15	4	—	1	17	0 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1730	—	1	16	6	—	1	7	0	—	1	8	10 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1731	—	1	12	10	—	1	0	5	—	1	5	11 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1732	—	1	6	8	—	1	5	8	—	1	1	0 <sup>6</sup> / <sub>9</sub>
1733	—	1	8	4	—	1	2	8	—	1	2	4 <sup>5</sup> / <sub>9</sub>

*An Account of the true Market-price of Wheat and Malt in Windsor Market, from 1595 inclusive to 1765 exclusive. —Continued.*

Year.	Wheat qr.			Malt qr.			Stat. Meas. Wheat qr.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1734	1	18	10	1	2	8	1	10	8 $\frac{2}{3}$
1735	2	3	0	1	2	8	1	13	11 $\frac{1}{2}$
1736	2	0	4	1	4	0	1	11	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1737	1	18	0	1	6	8	1	10	0 $\frac{2}{3}$
1738	1	15	6	1	8	0	1	8	0 $\frac{2}{3}$
1739	1	18	6	1	6	0	1	10	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1740	2	10	8	1	12	0	2	0	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1741	2	6	8	1	12	8	1	16	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1742	1	14	0	1	10	8	1	6	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1743	1	4	10	1	8	8	0	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1744	1	4	10	1	4	8	0	19	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
*1745	1	7	6	1	3	4	1	1	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1746	1	19	0	1	2	4	1	10	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1747	1	14	10	1	2	8	1	7	7 $\frac{1}{2}$
1748	1	17	0	1	3	4	1	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1749	1	17	0	1	5	4	1	9	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
1750	1	12	6	1	5	4	1	5	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1751	1	18	6	1	6	0	1	10	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1752	2	1	10	1	7	4	1	13	0 $\frac{1}{2}$
1753	2	4	8	1	7	4	1	15	3 $\frac{1}{2}$
1754	1	14	8	1	8	0	1	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1755	1	13	10	1	5	4	1	6	8 $\frac{1}{2}$
1756	2	5	3	1	6	0	1	15	9 $\frac{1}{2}$
1757	3	0	0	1	16	0	2	7	4 $\frac{1}{2}$
1758	2	10	0	1	16	0	1	19	6 $\frac{1}{2}$
1759	1	19	10	1	7	4	1	11	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1760	1	16	6	1	6	0	1	8	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1761	1	10	3	1	5	4	1	3	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1762	1	19	0	1	7	4	1	10	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
1763	2	0	9	1	16	0	1	12	2 $\frac{1}{2}$
*1764	2	6	9	1	14	0	1	16	11 $\frac{1}{2}$

Note. In the foregoing computations, you are to know, that in every year there are two prices of corn, the one at Lady-day, the other at Michaelmas, both which are put together, and the half is taken for the common price of that year, and the tax is deducted from the price of malt.

Since

Since printing the former edition the accounts for 1765 and 1766 have been obtained, and are,

Year.	Wheat qr.			Malt qr.			Stat. Meas. Wheat qr.		
	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
1765	—	2	14	0	—	1	12	8	—
1766	—	2	8	6	—	1	14	0	—
							1	18	3 $\frac{2}{3}$

That is, on the average, London measure,

1765	—	2	2	8	—	1	5	9 $\frac{2}{3}$
1766	—	1	18	3 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	1	6	10 $\frac{4}{9}$

Average of the two years,

2	0	5 $\frac{2}{3}$	—	1	6	4
---	---	-----------------	---	---	---	---

These prices were taken from the audit-books in Eton College, by J. J. Calverwood, the 21 Jan. 1783, and are reduced to the statute measure agreeably to the rule laid down in page 114.

Wheat qr.				Wheat qr.				
£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.		
1767	—	3	4	6	—	2	10	11 $\frac{5}{6}$
1768	—	3	0	7	—	2	7	10 $\frac{2}{3}$
1769	—	2	5	9	—	1	16	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1770	—	2	9	0	—	1	18	8 $\frac{6}{9}$
1771	—	2	17	0	—	2	5	0 $\frac{4}{9}$
1772	—	3	6	0	—	2	12	12 $\frac{1}{2}$
1773	—	3	6	6	—	2	12	6 $\frac{5}{6}$
1774	—	3	2	0	—	2	8	11 $\frac{5}{6}$
1775	—	2	17	9	—	2	7	4 $\frac{2}{3}$
1776	—	2	8	0	—	1	17	11 $\frac{1}{9}$
1777	—	2	15	0	—	2	3	5 $\frac{5}{6}$
1778	—	2	9	6	—	1	19	1 $\frac{1}{3}$
1779	—	2	0	9	—	1	12	2 $\frac{4}{9}$
1780	—	2	8	6	—	1	18	3 $\frac{2}{3}$
1781	—	2	19	0	—	2	6	7 $\frac{4}{9}$
1782	—	3	0	6	—	2	7	7

Prices statute measure.

*The Prices of Wheat for eleven Years at Windsor Market, Statute Measure, compared with eleven Years taken from the Corn Register established by Act 10 Geo. 3. 1770.*

		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
1771	—	2	5	0 $\frac{4}{5}$	—	2	7	2
1772	—	2	12	1 $\frac{7}{8}$	—	2	10	8
1773	—	2	12	6 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	2	11	0
1774	—	2	8	11 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	2	12	8
1775	—	2	7	4 $\frac{8}{9}$	—	2	8	4
1776	—	1	17	11 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	1	18	2
1777	—	2	3	5 $\frac{5}{8}$	—	2	5	6
1778	—	1	19	1 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	2	2	0
1779	—	1	12	2 $\frac{4}{5}$	—	1	13	8
1780	—	1	18	3 $\frac{8}{9}$	—	1	15	8
1781	—	2	6	7 $\frac{4}{5}$	—	2	4	8

Total average at Windsor market	}	2	3	11 $\frac{8}{9}$	Total average in Corn Reg.	}	2	4	6

*A Table of Averages of the foregoing Prices of Wheat and Malt.*

Number of Years, and when.			Averages.	
No.	From	To	Qr. Wheat.	Qr. Malt.
11	1595	1606	£.2 1 6 $\frac{1}{2}$	£.1 3 9 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	1606	1626	2 3 2 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 2 9
20	1626	1646	2 10 5	1 10 0
20	1646	1666	2 17 5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 12 0 $\frac{3}{4}$
20	1666	1686	2 6 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 6 7
20	1686	1706	2 5 10 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 6 8
20	1706	1726	2 4 9	1 8 2 $\frac{1}{2}$
20	1726	1746	1 17 9 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 7 0 $\frac{1}{2}$
19	1746	1765	2 0 1 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 7 8 $\frac{3}{4}$
51	1595	1646	2 5 3 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 5 5
40	1646	1686	2 11 10 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 9 4
40	1686	1726	2 5 3 $\frac{3}{4}$	1 7 5
39	1726	1765	1 18 11 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 7 4
91	1595	1686	2 8 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	1 7 7 $\frac{3}{4}$
79	1686	1765	2 2 0 $\frac{1}{2}$	1 7 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
170	1595	1765	2 5 4	1 7 5 $\frac{1}{4}$

These averages are taken to such particular years, that those as were struck by Bishop *Fleetwood* might stand here, as he hath given them; and the chasm of 1642, 3, 4, and 5, is not here regarded; but the average of the sixteen years from 1625 to 1642, is taken for that of the twenty years from 1625 to 1646; as it can make no great difference in the said twenty, and scarcely any in the whole one hundred and seventy years.

The way the College comes at these prices is this: the College baker and brewer attend *Windsor* market on the market-days next before *Lady-day* and *Michaelmas*; and bring an account of the highest prices that wheat and malt is sold for in the market on those days to the Provost and Fellows: and it cannot be doubted but they are taken with great care; for, according thereto, the rents are settled for the current year; it being only left to the tenant's option whether he will pay in wheat and malt in kind, or in money, at the said market-price.

As these are the prices of the best wheat and malt, and the bushel at *Windsor* contains nine gallons, they by no means give a true state of the mean or middle prices of the said corn or grain, or what the value would have been of all the wheat fit for bread, and all the malt made from all the barley fit for that purpose, supposing the whole of each to have been mixed together on two distinct heaps; or, what each of them would have  
been



been worth or have sold for in each year; or, what the respective averages at or for the times before noted would have been.

But yet the same may be found from them with great exactness, by deducting one ninth for the difference of the bushel above the statute measure, and then one ninth more from the remainder; for it hath been found that the value of all the wheat fit for bread, if mixed together, would be eight ninths of the value of the best wheat; and the same proportion may reasonably be supposed in barley.

This, however, would be too tedious to do here for the whole time, but the following table shews what the general averages are, according to such calculation.

*A Table, shewing the Value of the Quarter of middle Wheat and Malt in Windsor Market, for several Periods within 170 Years, and for the whole Time, Statute Measure.*

Number of Years, and when.			Averages.	
No.	From	To	Qr: Wheat.	Qr. Malt.
11	1595	1606	£.1 12 10 $\frac{7}{8}$	£.0 18 9 $\frac{5}{8}$
20	1606	1626	1 14 1 $\frac{8}{9}$	0 17 11 $\frac{6}{9}$
20	1626	1646	1 19 10	1 3 8 $\frac{4}{9}$
20	1646	1666	2 5 4 $\frac{5}{9}$	1 5 4
20	1666	1686	1 16 7 $\frac{1}{9}$	1 1 0
20	1686	1706	1 16 3 $\frac{1}{9}$	1 1 0 $\frac{7}{9}$
20	1706	1726	1 15 4 $\frac{2}{9}$	1 2 3 $\frac{4}{9}$
20	1726	1746	1 9 10 $\frac{4}{9}$	1 1 4 $\frac{3}{9}$
19	1746	1765	1 11 8 $\frac{4}{9}$	1 1 10 $\frac{8}{9}$
51	1595	1646	1 15 9 $\frac{2}{9}$	1 0 1 $\frac{3}{9}$
40	1646	1686	2 0 11 $\frac{7}{9}$	1 3 2 $\frac{1}{9}$
40	1686	1726	1 15 9 $\frac{5}{9}$	1 1 8 $\frac{1}{9}$
39	1726	1765	1 10 9 $\frac{5}{9}$	1 1 7 $\frac{1}{9}$
91	1595	1686	1 18 0 $\frac{8}{9}$	1 1 10 $\frac{1}{9}$
79	1686	1765	1 13 2 $\frac{5}{9}$	1 1 7 $\frac{5}{9}$
170	1595	1765	1 15 9 $\frac{8}{9}$	1 1 8 $\frac{1}{9}$

From the foregoing accounts, and the last table, it is observable, that the prices of wheat and malt have not been higher since the bounty hath been paid, which was first given in 1689; but, on the contrary, wheat hath been considerably cheaper on the whole, and continually on the decline; notwithstanding the export hath continued to increase, and there is reason to believe bread made of wheat is become more generally the food of the labouring part

part of the people than before the bounty was given \*; which difference in the price of wheat is explained below, viz.:

		£.	s.	d.
From 1595 to 1586, average	—	1	18	0
1686 to 1726, average	—	1	15	9
		<hr/>		
Less for the first 40 years	—	0	2	3
		<hr/>		
From 1595 to 1686, average	—	1	18	0
1726 to 1765, average	—	1	10	9
		<hr/>		
Less for the last 39 years	—	0	7	3
		<hr/>		
From 1595 to 1686, average	—	1	18	0
1686 to 1765, average	—	1	13	2
		<hr/>		
Less for the last 79 years	—	0	4	10
		<hr/>		

And, if we compare the average of the forty years immediately before that in which the bounty took place, with the average of the whole time since, the difference appears still greater:

		£.	s.	d.
From 1646 to 1686, average	—	2	0	11
1686 to 1765, average	—	1	13	2
		<hr/>		
Less for the last 79 years	—	0	7	9
		<hr/>		

\* See Supp. c. 5. sec. 16.

And hereby the utility and good effects of the bounty are manifested, in that tillage hath been | thereby so encouraged and improved, as to make wheat cheaper at home, and, at the same time, bring large sums into the kingdom for the corn exported; of which the following accounts have been laid before Parliament.

*An Account of the Quantity of Corn exported from England, from Michaelmas 1696, to Christmas 1764; distinguishing each Year.*

Years.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Quarters.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
To Mich. 1697	32,855	—	51,811	5	295	3	2,596	4	14,698	6
Ditto 1698	30,984	6	44,526	6	151	7	1,275	2	6,857	1
Christm. 1698	5	—	2,049	—	20	5	68	—	28	7
1699	75	—	1,511	3	301	6	405	—	557	2
+ 1700	25,896	5	37,571	4	391	1	27,231	—	49,056	5
1701	21,953	2	50,447	1	285	5	43,917	—	98,323	7
1702	16,280	1	71,856	6	89	4	51,710	2	90,230	4
1703	71,523	7	123,291	2	159	2	58,438	4	106,615	4
1704	30,729	4	102,873	7	219	7	29,284	7	90,313	5
1705	21,386	6	137,396	2	100	4	24,059	4	96,185	1
1706	10,221	3	141,084	4	62	2	49,892	2	188,332	3
§ 1707	4,771	3	111,153	1	103	7	34,032	—	74,155	1
1708	29,937	6	97,789	3	67	6	4,720	3	83,406	3
1709	40,512	6	139,934	4	37	5	166,512	5	169,679	7
1710	5,744	5	79,530	—	125	1	12,215	6	13,924	1
1711	8,412	6	139,975	7	321	4	37,957	4	76,949	—
1712	19,838	5	191,624	5	303	5	17,735	3	145,191	—

\* No export for one year. † No bounty for about ten months.

§ Bounty on oatmeal commenced. || No export for one year.

*Account of Corn exported—continued.*

Years.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1713	52,542	—	217,975	7	1,376	3	38,625	7	176,227	—
1714	18,579	5	220,274	7	129	—	20,455	—	174,821	—
1715	5,080	1	103,365	1	303	5	31,161	2	166,490	2
1716	14,857	—	226,617	—	719	6	40,123	1	74,926	1
1717	18,435	7	251,083	1	404	1	23,031	6	22,953	7
1718	71,139	7	303,133	3	868	5	49,416	6	71,800	—
1719	9,649	3	357,499	1	219	3	45,502	2	127,762	4
1720	4,505	6	253,509	6	3,471	4	49,241	3	83,084	2
1721	11,608	3	338,942	6	577	7	69,697	5	81,632	3
1722	37,528	7	366,728	2	324	4	42,579	—	178,880	3
1723	45,789	6	305,063	5	541	5	12,737	6	157,719	6
1724	10,208	5	241,895	—	516	4	23,441	4	245,864	6
1725	15,782	6	294,025	1	1,447	4	20,539	5	204,413	3
1726	20,017	1	335,925	5	1,412	6	18,835	2	142,183	3
1727	8,688	4	241,428	4	2,204	7	9,169	3	30,315	3
1728	198	2	195,340	6	1,363	2	13	5	3,817	—
1729	4,650	4	130,743	7	2,541	—	1,460	3	18,993	3
1730	14,982	3	179,446	2	4,479	2	12,394	4	93,970	7
1731	13,562	2	177,699	4	1,808	1	21,089	7	130,025	2
1732	13,874	6	161,075	4	1,274	7	15,535	5	202,058	4

1733	37,598	-	203,115	-	1,487	4	28,155	1	427,199	-
1734	70,224	5	233,124	-	3,038	6	10,735	-	498,196	4
1735	57,520	3	219,781	7	1,920	6	1,329	4	153,343	5
1736	6,860	1	192,602	4	1,196	5	1,220	5	118,170	7
1737	23,669	5	103,718	2	1,921	4	7,849	3	461,602	-
1738	70,689	6	188,607	7	1,777	3	36,159	1	580,596	4
1739	54,447	1	191,876	6	1,116	3	29,791	2	279,542	4
1740	21,036	6	145,527	5	2,571	7	8,979	4	54,390	4
* 1741	6,614	1	123,357	6	1,106	6	7,622	1	45,416	7
1742	11,482	4	189,525	7	1,380	2	63,272	2	293,259	6
1743	34,995	1	219,217	5	1,882	3	88,272	7	371,431	3
1744	20,090	-	219,862	4	1,657	6	74,169	1	231,984	5
1745	95,878	7	219,354	6	9,770	3	83,966	2	324,839	5
1746	158,719	3	282,024	6	20,203	-	45,782	3	130,646	2
1747	103,140	2	361,289	3	2,122	4	92,718	3	266,906	7
1748	73,857	-	349,363	-	3,768	4	103,891	4	543,387	5
1749	52,621	3	355,469	5	1,281	2	106,312	4	629,049	-
1750	224,500	7	330,754	2	4,283	4	99,049	3	947,602	1
1751	32,698	-	256,547	4	2,476	2	71,048	4	661,416	4
1752	106,331	3	287,578	6	1,590	1	57,847	2	429,279	4
1753	67,049	-	274,424	7	7,012	1	24,835	7	299,608	7
1754	47,776	3	321,995	-	2,330	2	42,915	1	356,270	1
1755	32,836	-	341,568	6	1,112	2	43,441	7	237,459	2

\* No export for one year.



*Account of Corn exported—continued.*

Year.	Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
*1756	26,938	5	236,925	6	2,310	4	29,968	7	101,936	4
†1757	7,094	7	56,164	2	4,417	6	907	1	11,226	—
1758	691	—	10,728	1	1,831	4	—	—	9,233	6
1759	22,862	4	166,079	—	3,134	6	41,480	2	226,426	—
1760	34,592	4	224,195	—	2,338	4	52,776	4	390,710	4
1761	97,897	1	279,051	5	2,839	6	57,571	1	440,746	2
1762	130,873	—	254,429	5	1,368	4	28,410	2	294,500	—
1763	38,390	1	165,494	—	1,664	4	12,933	7	427,074	3
1764	9,218	6	223,220	5	1,101	—	27,690	1	396,537	5

\* Christmas 1756 to March 1759 no export.

† Import duty free to August, about eight months.

*Totals of the foregoing Account of Corn exported, distinguishing each Sort.*

Years.		Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
From	To	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1697	1706	251,689	7	623,345	4	2,015	4	238,985	7	552,867	2
1706	1726	433,237	2	4,381,205	—	11,922	1	789,618	6	2,518,213	+
1726	1746	590,080	6	3,871,332	4	45,932	3	520,020	6	4,461,337	4
1746	1765	1,268,080	1	4,777,303	6	67,186	4	939,500	7	6,800,017	1
1697	1765	2,543,096	—	13,653,186	6	127,056	4	2,488,206	2	14,332,435	3

Amount of all the Corn exported.					
Years.		Per An.			
From	To	No.	Quarters.	B.	Quarters.
1697	1706	9	1,668,904	—	185,433
1706	1726	20	8,134,196	5	406,709
1726	1746	20	9,488,703	7	474,435
1746	1765	19	13,852,176	3	729,061
1697	1765	68	33,143,980	7	487,411

Average of the last  
 39 years, viz. } 598,484 Qrs.

*Average of the Quantity of each Species of Grain annually exported, and the Value of the middle Quarter thereof.*

Quantity.											
Years.		Barley.		Malt.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
From	To	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1697	1706	27,965	4	69,260	5	223	7	26,554	—	61,429	6
1706	1726	21,661	3	219,060	3	596	—	39,480	7	25,910	5
1726	1746	29,504	—	193,566	5	2,296	5	26,001	—	223,666	7
1746	1765	66,741	4	251,437	—	3,536	1	49,451	5	357,895	5
1697	1765	37,398	4	200,782	1	1,868	4	36,591	2	210,771	—

Price.											
Years.		Barley.		Malt.		Oats.		Rye.		Wheat.	
From	To	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1697	1706	£.0	16 6	£. 1	0 1	£.0	12 4½	£.1	4 2	£.1	16 3
1706	1726	0	18 8	1	2 3	0	14 0	1	3 7	1	15 4
1726	1746	0	17 9	1	1 4	0	13 ¾	0	19 11	1	9 10
1746	1765	0	18 3	1	1 10	0	13 8	1	1 1	1	11 8
1697	1765	0	18 0	1	1 7	0	13 6	1	2 0	1	13 2

*Note,*

*Note,* The prices of wheat and malt in the last page are taken from the table, page 132 : the price of barley is the same as malt, deducting 3*s.* 7*d.* per quarter for making : the price of oats is calculated at three-fourths of the price of barley ; and the price of rye is calculated at two thirds of the price of wheat ; which proportions are frequently, or rather generally, found between their respective prices.

The said price of malt, however, is to be understood of that made for home consumption only ; for, by stat. 3 G. 2. c. 7. sec. 14 and 15. *three* quarters of malt is to be allowed for every *two* quarters of barley when malted for exportation, and the bounty is paid accordingly.

Now, two quarters of barley having been worth on the average only 36*s.* we ought not to suppose three quarters of the malt set down in the said account as exported, worth more, *i. e.* 12*s.* per quarter.

Here follow the accounts of the sums paid for bounties on the foregoing quantities of corn exported.

*Account of the total Amounts of the several Bounties paid for Corn exported from England from 1697 to 1706, being NINE Years ; with the annual Averages.*

		Qrs.	B.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.
Barley	—	251,689	7	—	2 6	—	31,461	4	8½
Malt	—	623,345	4	—	2 6	—	77,918	3	9
Oatmeal	—	2,015	4	—	2 6	—	251	18	9
Rye	—	238,985	7	—	3 6	—	41,822	10	7¼
Wheat	—	552,867	2	—	5 0	—	138,216	16	3
Quarters		1,668,904	0				£. 289,670	14	0½
Averages		185,433	6				£. 32,185	12	8

*Accounts*

# 142 PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE PRICE,

*Account of the total Amounts of the several Bounties paid for Corn exported from England from 1706 to 1726, being TWENTY Years; with the annual Averages.*

	Qrs.	B.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Barley —	433,237	2	—	2 6	—	54,154	13 1½
Malt —	4,381,205	0	—	2 6	—	547,650	12 6
Oats —	11,922	1	—	2 6	—	1,490	5 3¾
Rye —	789,618	6	—	3 6	—	138,183	5 7
Wheat —	2,518,213	4	—	5 0	—	629,553	7 6
Quarters	8,134,196	5			£. 1,371,032	4	0¼
Averages	406,709	2			£. 68,551	12	2

*Account of the total Amounts of the several Bounties paid for Corn exported from England from 1726 to 1746, being TWENTY Years; with the annual Averages.*

	Qrs.	B.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Barley —	590,080	6	—	2 6	—	73,760	1 10¾
Malt —	3,871,332	4	—	2 6	—	483,916	11 3
Oatmeal —	45,932	3	—	2 6	—	5,741	11 1¼
Rye —	520,020	6	—	3 6	—	91,003	12 7½
Wheat —	4,461,337	4	—	5 0	—	1,115,334	7 6
Quarters	9,488,703	7			£. 1,769,756	4	2½
Averages	474,435	1			£. 88,487	16	2

*Account of the total Amounts of the several Bounties paid for Corn exported from England from 1746 to 1765, being NINETEEN Years; with the annual Averages.*

	Qrs.	B.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Barley —	1,268,088	1	—	2 6	—	158,511	0 3¾
Malt —	4,777,303	6	—	2 6	—	579,162	19 4½
Oatmeal —	67,186	4	—	2 6	—	8,398	6 3
Rye —	939,580	7	—	3 6	—	164,426	13 1
Wheat —	6,800,017	1	—	5 0	—	1,700,004	5 7½
Quarters	13,852,176	3			£. 2,628,503	4	7¾
Averages	729,061	7			£. 138,342	5	6

*An Account of the total Amounts and annual Averages of the several Bounties which have been paid for Corn exported from England, from 1697 to 1765, being SIXTY-EIGHT Years.*

Names.	Quantities.		Bounty per Qr.	Sums total.		Annual.	
	Qrs.	B.		£.	s. d.	£.	s. d.
Barley	2,543,096	—	2 6	317,887	0 0	4,674	16 2
Malt	13,653,186	6	2 6	1,706,648	6 10½	25,097	15 5
Oatmeal	127,056	4	2 6	15,882	1 3	233	11 4
Rye	2,488,206	2	3 6	435,326	1 11	6,403	9 5
Wheat	14,332,435	3	5 0	3,583,108	16 10½	52,692	15 5
Total Qrs.	33,143,980	7		£.6,058,962	6 11		
Ann. Export	487,411	3		Annual Bounty £.89,102 7 9			

*Note,* In all these calculations the export from *Michaelmas* to *Christmas* 1696, is taken as part of 1697, which is inclusive, and 1765 exclusive.

It would have given us great pleasure to have been able to have begun the foregoing accounts from 1689, when the bounty took place; but we do not find them made up further back, and it is most probable that before 1697, the export was not considerable enough for notice; as a course of nine years cannot be thought too long to have elapsed before

before the laws could operate so far as to enable *us* to export any material quantity, *who*, before they took place, used to be frequently large *importers* \*.

During the foregoing period of sixty-eight years, the *export* hath, with some few exceptions, been prohibited four several times, viz. from *Feb.* 10, 1698-9, for one year; from *Nov.* 18, 1709, to *Sept.* 29, 1710; from *Dec.* 1740, to *Dec.* 25, 1741; and from *Dec.* 1756, to *Dec.* 27, 1757: which last prohibition was prolonged to *Dec.* 25, 1758, and continued to *March* 25, 1769: and from *Feb.* 12, 1699-1700, to *Sept.* 29, 1700, no bounty was paid on any corn exported; nor was any payable on oatmeal exported till *May* 1, 1707.

Which prohibitions, non-payment of bounty, and none being paid on oatmeal at first, would, all together, make a considerable deduction from the monies in the preceding pages, could we distinguish their amount; but no account thereof, as we can learn, hath been made out by authority, no more than of such grain as hath been exported, for which no bounty is at any time payable. For these reasons, and because it is intended in these observations to give the objections to paying the bounty their full force, no notice is taken thereof in these accounts, and the bounty is supposed to have been paid on all the corn exported of every sort for the whole *sixty-eight* years.

\* See note, p. 61, and Supp. c. 2. sec. 12 and 13.



*An Account of the Quantity of Corn imported into England, from Michaelmas 1696 to Christmas 1764; distinguishing each Year.*

Years.	Barley.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
To Mich. 1697	211	4	—	—	1	4	—	—	400	—
Ditto 1698	150	—	520	—	—	—	3,622	2	845	—
Christm. 1698	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	844	—
1699	—	—	1,280	4	—	5	350	—	486	3
1700	—	—	234	4	—	—	—	4	4	6
1701	—	—	20	4	—	—	—	—	1	1
1702	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1703	—	—	—	—	2	4	—	—	50	—
1704	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
1705	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1706	—	—	98	4	480	4	—	—	77	1
1707	—	—	12	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1708	—	—	70	4	—	—	—	—	86	4
1709	606	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1,552	3
1710	576	—	139	3	113	3	—	2	400	—
1711	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1712	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1713	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

*Account of Corn imported—continued.*

Years.	Barley.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1714	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	15	7
1715	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
1716	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1717	—	—	62	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1718	—	—	21	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
1719	—	—	300	—	—	—	—	—	20	1
1720	252	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1721	445	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1722	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1723	—	—	112	2	—	—	—	—	—	—
1724	—	—	61,630	3	—	—	—	—	148	2
1725	—	—	2,152	4	—	—	—	4	12	2
1726	—	—	20	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1727	100	—	15	6	—	—	—	—	—	—
1728	11,745	—	70,070	1	—	—	—	6	74,574	2
1729	17,201	6	184,071	—	21	3	42,205	7	40,315	2
1730	386	1	95,149	4	—	—	132,045	—	75	7
1731	3,503	—	15,892	7	—	3	—	—	4	—

[illegible]

*Account of Corn imported—continued.*

Years.	Barley.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1757	5,781	1	7,460	2	298	3	7,861	7	130,343	2
1758	9,752	2	12,276	2	1,563	7	—	—	19,039	7
1759	42	4	321	4	13	2	—	—	82	1
1760	—	—	—	—	3	6	—	—	—	—
1761	—	—	21	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1762	942	3	16,570	1	829	6	—	—	56	2
1763	3,227	7	217,637	5	836	5	—	—	8	1
1764	5,110	2	122,477	3	11,892	3	—	—	1	1

*Totals*

*Totals of the foregoing Account of Corn imported, distinguishing each Sort.*

Years.		Barley.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
From	To	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1697	1706	361	7	2,056	4	4	5	3,972	6	2,633	—
1706	1726	1,879	—	64,622	6	593	7	—	6	2,313	—
1726	1746	48,073	6	470,314	2	21	6	186,354	—	128,087	3
1746	1765	24,901	3	474,762	1	21,023	—	9,556	7	150,407	5
1697	1765	75,216	—	1,011,755	5	21,643	2	199,884	3	283,441	—

Amount of all the Corn imported.											
Years.				Per Ann.							
From		To		No.	Quarters.	B.	Quarters.	B.			
1697	1706	1706	1706	9	9,028	6	1,003	1			
1706	1726	1726	1726	20	69,409	3	3,470	4			
1726	1746	1746	1746	20	832,851	1	41,642	4			
1746	1765	1765	1765	19	680,651	—	35,832	6			
1697	1765	1765	1765	68	1,591,940	2	23,410	7			

*Average of the Quantity of each Species of Grain annually imported.*

Years.		No.	Barley.		Oats.		Oatmeal.		Rye.		Wheat.	
From	To		Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.	Qrs.	B.
1697	1706	9	40	2	228	4	—	4	441	3	292	4
1706	1726	20	94	—	3,231	1	29	5	—	—	115	5
1726	1746	20	2,403	4	23,515	6	1	1	9,317	4	6,404	2
1746	1765	19	1,310	4	24,987	6	1,106	4	503	—	7,916	2
1697	1765	68	1,106	—	14,878	7	318	2	2,939	4	4,168	2

*Note,* The importation of malt is prohibited, and yet 381 qrs. 4 b. have been imported since 1697, which are included in the above account of barley : and although the oats are here inserted, no notice is taken in the foregoing account of exports of either oats, beans, pease, or any grain on which no bounty is given : the quantity of the first, it must be acknowledged, is very small, but the quantities of the two last are at some times pretty considerable.

*General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of Barley and Malt exported and imported, and the annual Averages thereof compared.*

Years.			General Accounts.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exported.		Imported.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	875,035	3	361	7	874,673	4
1706	1726	20	4,814,442	2	1,879	—	4,812,563	2
1726	1746	20	4,461,413	2	48,073	6	4,413,339	4
1746	1765	19	6,045,391	7	24,901	3	6,020,490	4
1697	1765	68	16,196,282	6	75,216	—	16,121,066	6

Years.			Annual Averages.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exported.		Imported.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	97,226	1	40	2	97,185	7
1706	1726	20	240,721	6	94	—	240,627	6
1726	1746	20	223,070	5	2,403	4	220,667	1
1746	1765	19	318,178	4	1,310	4	316,868	—
1697	1765	68	238,180	5	1,106	—	237,073	7

*General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of Oatmeal exported, and Oats\* and Oatmeal imported, and the annual Averages thereof compared.*

Years.			General Accounts.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exported.		Imported.		Imports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	2,015	4	2,061	1	45	5
1706	1726	20	11,922	1	65,216	5	53,294	4
1726	1746	20	45,932	3	470,336	—	424,403	5
1746	1765	19	67,186	4	495,785	1	428,598	5
1697	1765	68	127,056	4	1,033,397	7	906,342	3

Years.			Annual Averages.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Imports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	223	7	229	—	5	1
1706	1726	20	596	—	3,260	6	2,664	6
1726	1746	20	2,296	4	23,516	7	20,220	3
1746	1765	19	3,536	1	26,094	2	22,558	1
1697	1765	68	1,868	3	15,197	1	13,328	6

\* Note, Two quarters of oats make one quarter of oatmeal.



152 PAPERS RELATIVE TO THE PRICE,

*General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of Rye exported and imported, and the annual Averages thereof compared.*

Years.			General Accounts.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	238,985	7	3,972	6	235,013	1
1706	1726	20	789,618	6	—	6	789,618	—
1726	1746	20	520,020	6	186,354	—	333,666	6
1746	1765	19	939,580	7	9,556	7	930,024	—
1697	1765	68	2,488,206	2	199,884	3	2,888,321	3

Years.			Annual Averages.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	26,554	—	441	3	26,112	5
1706	1726	20	39,480	7	—	—	39,480	7
1726	1746	20	26,001	—	9,317	4	16,683	4
1746	1765	19	49,451	—	503	—	48,948	—
1697	1765	68	35,591	2	2,939	4	32,651	6

*General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of all the Wheat exported and imported, and the annual Averages thereof compared.*

Years.			General Accounts.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	552,867	2	2,633	—	550,234	2
1706	1726	20	2,518,213	4	2,313	—	2,515,900	4
1726	1746	20	4,461,337	4	128,087	3	4,333,250	1
1746	1765	19	6,800,017	1	150,407	5	6,649,609	4
1697	1765	68	14,332,435	3	283,441	—	14,048,994	3

Years.			Annual Averages.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	61,429	6	292	4	61,137	2
1706	1726	20	125,910	5	115	5	125,795	—
1726	1746	20	223,066	7	6,404	2	216,662	5
1746	1765	19	357,895	5	7,916	2	349,979	3
1697	1765	68	210,771	—	4,168	2	206,602	6

*General Accounts of the foregoing Quantities of all the Corn exported and imported, and the annual Averages thereof compared.*

Years.			General Accounts.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	1,668,904	—	9,028	6	1,659,875	—
1706	1726	20	8,134,196	5	69,409	3	8,064,787	2
1726	1746	20	9,488,703	7	832,851	1	8,655,852	6
1746	1765	19	13,852,176	3	680,651	—	13,171,525	3
1697	1765	68	33,143,980	7	1,591,940	2	31,552,040	5

Years.			Annual Averages.					
Fr.	To	No.	Exports.		Imports.		Exports exceed.	
1697	1706	9	185,433	6	1,003	1	184,430	5
1706	1726	20	406,709	2	3,470	4	403,238	6
1726	1746	20	474,435	1	41,642	4	432,792	5
1746	1765	19	729,061	7	35,823	6	693,238	1
1697	1765	68	487,411	3	23,410	7	464,000	4

From the three last pages may be seen the progress of the export and import from time to time, and for the whole time from 1697 to 1765, as to QUANTITY: we shall presently see the value in MONEY, whereby will appear what benefit and savings the nation hath received therefrom.

But before the accounts are produced, it may be proper to shew upon what principles they are stated, that it may appear that in those, as well as in all the rest of the foregoing papers, nothing is taken for granted or enhanced in favour of the export, but that the most moderate principles are adopted throughout, with a view, if possible, to obviate every objection.

First, then, the debtor sides of the accounts consist of a charge of the bounty for all the corn exported; and the value of all the corn imported, rated at those high prices at which the low duties are to commence \*.

The first article might have been lessened by deducting the bounties for 1700, and in some other years, when none were paid, and for oatmeal till 1707.

And the corn imported might very justly have been left out of the accounts, since it is most probable, had there been no export, the import would have been much larger†.

Secondly, the credit sides of the accounts consist of the value of all the corn exported, rated only at the average prices‡ as noted pages 140 and 141. And to the profits at the foot of the said account, reduced into annual averages, are added the savings in the price of wheat eat at home, which for the first twenty-nine years is valued only at *nine pence*, and the last thirty-nine years at only *one shilling and seven pence* per quarter, although it appears, page 133, to have been cheaper by *two shillings and three pence* during the first, and *seven shillings and three*

\* See page 109.

† See note, page 61, and Supp. ch. 2. sec. 13 and 14.

‡ It might, with great reason, have been valued somewhat higher; it is seldom shipped so low as the average price; and it may be questioned if the bounty, one time with another, pays freight, commission, and all other incident charges.

pence during the second period, than it was from 1595 to 1686.

*Dr. Account of Corn exported and imported from 1697 to 1706; being nine Years.*

			£.	s.	d.
Bounty, as per page 141	—	—	289,670	14	0
Imported, as per page 149 :		s. d.			
Barley	—	361 7 at 32 0 —	579	0	0
Oats	—	2,056 4 — 16 0 —	1,645	4	0
Oatmeal	—	4 5 — 32 0 —	7	8	0
Rye	—	3,972 6 — 40 0 —	7,945	10	0
Wheat	—	2,633 0 — 53 4 —	7,021	6	8
Quarters	9,028 6		£. 306,869	2	8

*Cr.*

Exported, as per page 139 :

Barley	—	251,689 7 at 16 6 —	207,644	2	11
Malt	—	623,345 4 — 12 0 —	374,007	6	0
Oatmeal	—	2,015 4 — 24 9* —	2,494	3	7
Rye	—	238,985 7 — 24 2 —	288,777	0	3
Wheat	—	552,867 2 — 36 3 —	1,002,071	17	9

Quarters	1,668,904 0	£. 1,874,994	10	6
Deduct as above Dr.		306,869	2	8
Gained in nine years		1,568,125	7	10

That is, per annum	174,236	3	1
To which add 9d. per qr. saved on 3,750,000 wheat eat in England	140,625	0	0
Total gained and saved per annum	314,861	3	1

\* Note, Oatmeal is double the price of oats.

*Dr. Account of Corn exported and imported from 1706 to 1726; being  
TWENTY Years.*

				£.	s.	d.
Bounty, as per page 142				1,371,032	4	0
Imported, as per page 149:			s. d.			
Barley	—	1,879 0	at 32 0 —	3,006	8	0
Oats	—	64,622 6	— 16 0 —	51,698	4	0
Oatmeal	—	593 7	— 32 0 —	950	4	0
Rye	—	— 6	— 40 0 —	1	10	0
Wheat	—	2,313 0	— 53 4 —	6,168	0	0
Quarters	69,409	3		£. 1,432,856	10	0
Per contra Cr.						
Exported, as per page 139:						
Barley	—	433,237 2	at 18 8 —	404,354	15	4
Malt	—	4,381,205 0	— 12 0 —	2,628,723	0	0
Oatmeal	—	11,922 1	— 28 0 —	16,690	19	6
Rye	—	789,618 6	— 23 7 —	931,092	2	2
Wheat	—	2,518,213 4	— 35 4 —	4,448,843	17	0
Quarters	8,134,196	5		£. 8,429,704	14	0
		Deduct as above Dr.		1,432,856	10	0
		Gained in twenty years		6,996,848	4	0
		That is, per annum		349,842	8	2
To which add 9d. per qr. saved on 3,750,000 wheat eat in <i>England</i>				140,625	0	0
Total gained and saved per annum				490,467	8	2

*D<sup>r</sup>. Account of Corn exported and imported from 1726 to 1746; being  
 TWENTY Years.*

					£.	s.	d.
Bounty paid, as per page 142					1,769,756	4	2
Imported, as per page 149:			s.	d.			
Barley	—	48,073 6	at 32 0	—	76,918	0	0
Oats	—	470,314 2	— 16 0	—	376,251	8	0
Oatmeal	—	21 6	— 32 0	—	34	16	0
Rye	—	186,354 0	— 40 0	—	372,708	0	0
Wheat	—	128,087 3	— 53 4	—	341,566	6	8
Quarters	832,851	1			£. 2,937,234	14	10

Per contra C<sup>r</sup>.

Exported, as per page 139:

Barley	—	590,080 6	at 17 9	—	523,696	13	3
Malt	—	3,871,332 4	— 12 0	—	2,322,793	10	0
Oatmeal	—	45,932 3	— 26 7	—	61,051	15	4
Rye	—	520,020 6	— 19 11	—	517,853	19	11
Wheat	—	4,461,337 4	— 29 10	—	6,654,821	8	9
Quarters	9,488,703	7			£. 10,080,224	7	3
Deduct as above D <sup>r</sup> .					2,937,234	14	10

Gained in twenty years 7,142,989 12 5

That is, per annum	357,149	9	7
To which add 1s. 7d. per qr. saved on 3,750,000 wheat eat in <i>England</i>	296,875	0	0
Total gained and saved per annum	654,024	9	7

*Dr. Account of Corn exported and imported from 1746 to 1765; being  
NINETEEN Years.*

			£.	s.	d.
Bounty paid, as per page 142	—		2,628,503	4	7
Imported, as per page 149:		s. d.			
Barley	— 24,901 3	at 32 0 —	39,842	4	0
Oats	— 474,762 1	— 16 0 —	379,809	14	0
Oatmeal	— 21,023 0	— 32 0 —	33,636	16	0
Rye	— 9,556 7	— 40 0 —	19,113	15	0
Wheat	— 150,407 5	— 53 4 —	401,087	0	0
Quarters	680,651 0		£. 3,501,992	13	7

Per contra Cr.

Exported, as per page 139:

Barley	— 1,268,088 1	at 18 3 —	1,157,130	8	3
Malt	— 4,777,303 6	— 12 0 —	2,866,382	5	0
Oatmeal	— 67,186 4	— 27 4 —	91,821	11	0
Rye	— 939,580 7	— 21 1 —	990,474	16	11
Wheat	— 6,800,017 1	— 31 8 —	10,766,693	15	7

Quarters	13,852,176 3	£. 15,872,502	16	9
	Deduct as above Dr.	3,501,992	13	7

Remains gained in nineteen years 12,370,510 3 2

	That is, per annum	651,079	9	7
To which add 1s. 7d. * per qr. saved on				
3,750,000 wheat eat in <i>England</i>		296,875	0	0
Total gained and saved per annum		947,954	9	7

\* Instead of 1s. 7d. which was taken for  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 4s. 10d.—2s. 5d. i. e.  $\frac{1}{3}$  of 7s. 3d. should have been taken in this, and the last page: see page 133.

*Totals*



*Totals of the Gains and Savings per Annum, brought forward from  
Page 155, 156, 157, 158.*

No.	Years.	From	To	Gains.			Savings.			Totals.			
				£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	
9	—	1697	—	1706	—	174,236	3	1	—	140,625	—	314,861	3 1
20	—	1706	—	1726	—	349,842	8	2	—	140,625	—	490,467	8 2
20	—	1726	—	1746	—	375,149	9	7	—	296,875	—	654,024	9 7
19	—	1746	—	1765	—	651,079	9	7	—	296,875	—	947,954	9 7
29	—	1697	—	1706	—	295,343	18	4	—	140,625	—	435,968	18 4
39	—	1726	—	1765	—	500,346	2	11	—	296,875	—	797,221	2 11
68	—	1697	—	1765	—	412,918	14	6	—	230,239	—	643,157	14 6

By the above account it appears, at one view, what the totals of the gains and savings made by the exportation of corn for *sixty-eight* years have been, and how the same have increased during that period, the value of all the corn imported, and amount of all the bounties, being deducted.

And these accounts are founded on facts; which, it should seem, cannot be in the least controverted: the most material doubt that can be raised against them would be to assert, that, however fully and clearly they may be stated, however certain the facts on which they are founded are, yet there can be no dependance thereon, unless we could know that an equal quantity of corn hath been consumed since, to what was consumed before the bounty took place; and that the number of men and other animals who are fed with, and live on grain, in the year 1764, is equal to that of those which was supported in 1689, thereby.

For although it doth appear, that bread-corn and all other grain are, and have been, as cheap, or cheaper, since the bounty on the export hath been given, than before ; yet it may have happened by the number of the people being lessened, or by some other means, that the *consumption* of grain in this kingdom hath been so decreased, as that such cheapness should not at all, or at least not wholly, be attributed to the *imaginary* increased quantity of corn grown by the extension of tillage arising from, or rather occasioned by, the encouragement given by such bounty.

This must undoubtedly be admitted ; but then it must at the same time be also granted on the contrary, that it may have happened by the number of the people being increased, or by some other means, that the *consumption* of grain in the kingdom hath been also increased during the said period, and then such cheapness ought wholly to be attributed to the *really* increased quantity of corn produced by the extension of tillage arising from, or rather occasioned by, such bounty.

The general opinion seems to be for the last of these propositions, and that the number of men and other animals fed on grain is greatly increased. But this, as to men at least, doth not appear to be the case ; and yet there are reasons to think they are at least equal to, or somewhat exceed, what they then were, and from the best authority could be obtained, that

that the number in *England* and *Wales* was then, and is now, about SIX MILLIONS \*.

The difficulties that attended this inquiry were not inconsiderable, and in making it, an opportunity was taken, in order to get at the amounts of the annual *growth* of all sorts of grain, to inquire what quantity of bread they consume per head annually, and how much of each sort of grain is made into bread, and applied to other uses; and this is the result of our inquiries:

That the numbers of the said six millions, who eat the several sorts of corn in bread, and the average quantities which they annually consume per head, are as follows:

Numbers † of the People.		qr. b.	
3,750,000	Consume annually each	Wheat	1 -
739,000		Barley	1 3
888,000		Rye	1 1
623,000		Oats	2 7

Besides that which is made into bread, there is reason to suppose the following quantities of the above and other sorts of grain are annually expended in other uses:

\* See Supp. ch. 3.

† See Supp. chap. 4 and 5.

Qrs.

- 90,000 Wheat distilled and made starch, &c.
- 3,300,000 Barley in beer.
- 117,000 Ditto, other uses.
- 2,461,500 \* Oats, horses, soup, &c.
- 31,000 Rye, tanners and hogs.
- 90,000 Beans and pease, for negroes, horses,  
and hogs.
- 134,000 Pease, for sailors and soup.
- 90,000 Rape and other seed, for oil.

And this exclusive of the several sorts of garden seeds and pulse eat green, of which we could form no idea.

From these last accounts, together with those in the foregoing part of this Collection, we may proceed to state the particular and general accounts of corn consumed, exported, imported, and grown annually, and the proportions they severally bear to each other; wherein, although it may be possible some things will be mistaken, yet we presume that the whole will be rather under than above the truth.

\* *Note*, From the year 1752 to 1765, the annual consumption of oats in *London* only is increased above 52,000 qrs.

*Particular Accounts of CORN consumed, &c.*

First, of BARLEY.

Bread	—	—	—	Qrs.	1,016,125
Malt	—	—	—	—	3,300,000
Hogs and other purposes	—			—	117,000
					<hr/>
Consumed at home	—			—	4,333,125
Exported, page 140,					
<i>viz.</i> Raw	37,398				
Malted	133,855*				
					171,253
					<hr/>
Consumed and exported	—			—	4,604,378
Imported, page 150, deduct	—			—	1,106
					<hr/>
Annual growth	—			—	4,603,272
					<hr/>

Of which the annual export is little more than *one twenty-seventh part*; and that in the year 1750, which was 445,004, after reducing the malt into barley, being the highest ever known †, was not quite *one tenth*.

\* *Note*, One third of the malt exported is deducted to reduce it into barley.

† See page 137.

## Second, OATS.

Bread	—	—	—	Qrs.	1,791,225
Horses and other purposes	—				2,461,500
					<hr/>
Consumed at home	—				4,252,725
Exported, page 140	—	—			3,737*
					<hr/>
Consumed and exported	—				4,256,462
Imported, page 150, deduct					
	<i>viz.</i>	Meal	636 4 }		15,515
		Corn	14,878 4 }		
					<hr/>
Annual growth	—				4,240,947
					<hr/>

To which both the annual export and import bear a very insignificant proportion; but the highest importation, which was in 1763, as per page 148, with the meal, amounted to 219,310, *i. e.* *one nineteenth* part of the growth.

## Third, RYE.

Bread	—	—	—	Qrs.	999,000
Other purposes	—	—	—		31,000
					<hr/>
Consumed at home	—				1,030,000
Exported, page 140	—	—			36,591
					<hr/>
Consumed and exported	—				1,066,591
Imported, page 150, deduct	—				2,939
					<hr/>
Annual growth	—	—			1,063,652

\* Note, *One* quarter of oatmeal is equal to *two* quarters of oats.

Of

Of which the annual export is about *one twenty-ninth* part; and that in 1706, being the highest export, *viz.* 166,512 qrs. \*, if there is no mistake in the accounts, is more than *one seventh*; however, the next highest, which was in 1749, *viz.* 106,312 $\frac{1}{4}$ , is *one tenth*.

## Fourth, WHEAT.

Bread	—	—	—	Qrs.	3,750,000
Other purposes	—	—	—		90,000
					<hr/>
Consumed at home			—		3,840,000
Exported, page 140		—	—		210,771
					<hr/>
Consumed and exported					4,050,771
Imported, page 150, deduct			—		4,168
					<hr/>
Annual growth		—	—		4,046,603

Of which the annual export is rather less than *one nineteenth* part; but the highest export, *viz.* in 1750, being 947,602 $\frac{1}{4}$ , was more than *one fifth*.

As to the remaining articles of beans, pease, rape-seed, &c. as mentioned page 162, we shall not take any further account of them, nor include them in the general account of the *growth*, as the quantities there mentioned are founded more on conjecture than any of the others there noted.

\* Page 135.

† Page 137.



*General Accounts of CORN consumed, &c.*

	Growth.	Consumed.	Export.	Import.
Barley	- 4,603,272	- 4,433,125	- 171,253	- 1,106
Oats	- 4,240,947	- 4,252,725	- 3,737	- 15,515
Rye	- 1,063,652	- 1,030,000	- 36,591	- 2,939
Wheat	- 4,046,603	- 3,840,000	- 210,771	- 4,168
	13,954,474			
Seed *	1,395,447			
	15,349,921	- 13,555,850	- 422,352 †	- 23,728 †

The PROPORTIONS, which all the corn annually grown, consumed, exported, and imported, bear to each other, are as under.

The EXPORT is bare one *one thirty-second* part of the CONSUMPTION, *one thirty-third* part of the GROWTH exclusive of the seed, *one thirty-sixth* part of the GROWTH, including the seed, and not near *one third* of the SEED itself, supposing it only *one tenth* of the GROWTH: nor did even the highest year ever known, the year 1750, when the amount of the ex-

\* The seed is called *one tenth*.

† The total of the export being here only 422,352, and the import amounting to 23,728, whereas the first, page 139, is 487,411, and the last, page 149, is only 23,410, arises from the malt being reduced into barley, and the oatmeal into oats, which it was not proper to do in the general accounts, the custom-house not having done it.

port was 1,500,220 qrs. \*, surpass the SEED *one twelfth part*; and yet what prodigious benefit hath the nation reaped from the exportation !

The IMPORT hath been about a *five hundred and seventy-first* part of the CONSUMPTION and *one eighteenth* of the export, and never equalled but a very small part of the GROWTH.

The GROWTH, exclusive of the seed, which to save deducting we here omit, exceeds the consumption *only* about *one thirty-fourth*, which confirms what is advanced page 41, and shews how much they are mistaken who talk of one year's growth serving two, three, or four; which is the error of many sensible men and judicious writers; and this confirms what is advanced in the Essay, page 44, and proves that a *small* deficiency of crop *far* exceeds the export.

And it must be allowed, that what is here supposed the annual surplus is not under-rated, if it be granted that the stock in hand at *Michaelmas* 1764 was *equal* to that in 1697; and that it could not be *more* seems clear; for it was found to be so small, that the Parliament thought necessary, by act 5 G.3. c. 31.

* Barley	—	—	—	—	Qrs.	224,500
Malt 330,754, deduct one third				—	—	220,503
Oatmeal 4,283, doubled			—	—	—	8,566
Rye	—	—	—	—	—	99,049
Wheat	—	—	—	—	—	947,602

As may be seen, page 137.

## 168 PRICE, EXPORT, AND IMPORT OF CORN.

to allow no bounty on export, or duty on import of wheat till 24 *August* 1765, and also made further provision to stop the export, if found necessary; neither of which steps were taken in 1697, though wheat was then 3*l.* a quarter at *Windsor*, whereas in 1764 it was only 2*l.* 6*s.* 9*d.* as may be seen in the foregoing register.

And if we could suppose all the 1,500,220\*, which was exported in the year 1750, to have been the surplus of the year 1749, the *growth* of that year did not exceed the annual *consumption* ONE NINTH.

The whole view in collecting and publishing these Papers, and of the observations made on them, is only to endeavour to set the state of the corn-trade, and the effects of our corn-laws, in a true light, wherein if we have failed, we may at least hope they will tend to engage some other more able hand in the attempt, and be of some assistance to him in accomplishing the same.

\* See page 167.

A  
SUPPLEMENT,  
CONTAINING SEVERAL  
PAPERS AND CALCULATIONS,  
WHICH TEND TO EXPLAIN AND CONFIRM WHAT IS  
ADVANCED IN THE FOREGOING TRACTS.

## N O T E.

THE division of this Supplement into chapters and sections was done in order to refer to it from the foregoing Tracts.

# SUPPLEMENT.

---

## CHAPTER I. OF MAGAZINES.

---

### SECTION I.

*Translation of a Letter from the Avoyer, or chief Magistrate, at Berne, in Switzerland, to ———, relative to the Magazines for Corn and Wine there\*.*

SIR,

YOU ask me for an account of the provisions both for corn and wine, which are subsisting in the canton of *Berne*, and if it is true that we owe the establishment of them to the patriotic zeal of a citizen of this republic, who dying without children, left his riches for that purpose: in regard to which, I have the honour to acquaint you, *that you have been misinformed as to the nature of the foundation of our magazines* †; and give me leave to add,

\* A translation of this letter hath before been published in the *Museum Rusticum*, vol. ii. numb. 41.

† The original of the words in italic is, “que l’histoire pretendue de cet honnête citoyen et de sa fondation est une fable faite à plaisir, dont il n’y a pas un mot de vray.”

by the way, that it is not in this little republic, as in great states. At *Berne*, private men have very slender fortunes; on the contrary, the *state*, by a course of disinterestedness and prudent economy in those who govern, may pass for rich, since the rights of the royalties only, with the rents of the estates, or lordships, of which they are possessed, both by purchase and conquest, put it in their power, and even without raising any sort of tax or excise on the people, to lay up almost every year some saving in the treasury: from thence it arises that the government is always both willing and able to relieve the wants of its citizens and subjects, and therefore such foundations would, in this country, be works of supererogation.

## SECT. II.

The magistrates of *Berne* even flatter themselves, that it is more honourable for them to administer the revenues of the republic in such a manner, that none but itself should be in a capacity to relieve the people, than it would be, if by augmenting the salaries of their officers, which they are well able to do, they should become, after the example of many great states, rich citizens in a poor republic. But it is time to finish this long digression, and to apply myself to satisfy, Sir, your curiosity: I will begin by laying before you the nature of the magazines of corn.



## SECT. III.

The people of *Berne* have two sorts, one subject to great variations, the other always the same. There are of the first sort many in the capital, and in many other parts of the canton, which are filled, more or less, according as the abundance of the harvest, and goodness of the grain, furnish an opportunity; for, besides the fixed revenue which the state hath in fee-farm rents, it hath a great quantity of tithes, which are of a very casual, and very different produce: when there are several fruitful years in *succession*, the granaries of this sort in the capital become full; but in other parts, if there is an appearance, towards Easter, of a good harvest, the corn is sold which is in the castles of the different bailiwicks, after having paid the several salaries to which they are made liable; and the bailiffs, who have a certain revenue made good to them, account for the surplus to the Chamber of Economy at *Berne*. The magazines of this capital, on the contrary, are never opened and sold but in dear times; and then care is taken not to sell to any family more than is sufficient for its supply, and always below the market price.

## SECT. IV.

As to the magazines of the second sort, they are called the *PROVISION*, and were established in pursuance of a convention called the *DEFFENSIONAL*, which the whole Helvetic body hath entered into  
for

for the common defence of Switzerland, in case of an attack from a foreign enemy. This treaty, regulating the number of troops and artillery which each canton is bound to furnish, obliges them at the same time to have always ready, and in store, provision and ammunition in proportion to their contingent. There are of these magazines of provision, as well at *Berne*, as in all the castles where the bailiffs reside: they are never either diminished or increased, only care is taken to keep them always in good order, and to substitute good corn in the place of that which decays. A bailiff who should misapply this provision, would be deposed; and from time to time the deputies of *Berne*, without giving notice of their intention, visit these magazines, and cause the corn to be measured over. Although there is six times more corn in these magazines than the contingent which *Berne* furnishes by the DEFENSIONAL, requires, they have never taken, in times of peace, more than one fourth part in an exceeding scarcity; and they have had great care to refill them without delay.

## SECT. V.

This is, Sir, in abridgment, an account of the magazines for the provision of corn in the canton of *Berne*. Several short crops within fifteen years having caused the common people to suffer by the high price which they were obliged to give for their bread, and the corn which the government caused to be purchased in *Burgundy* and *Suabia*,  
and

and resold to a great loss, having given but little relief to the misery of the poor, there is at present a project under consideration at *Berne*, which, if it is brought to pass, will, in all probability, prevent the subjects of this *state* from paying very dear for their bread for the time to come; which is this: It is proposed to build, in those parts of the canton which are most fruitful in corn, large *granaries*, and at such times when the abundance of the harvest shall have caused the value of a certain measure of corn to fall below a certain price, to buy up, on account of the government, all that shall be left for sale in the markets, after private persons have done buying, to the end that the owner, or farmer, may be always sure of having a certain price for his corn, and not be under a necessity of being at the expense and trouble of laying up what he may have left in the town-hall, or carrying it home again, or else selling it at too low a price to *foreigners* in the neighbourhood, of whom the subjects of *Berne* are often afterwards obliged to buy it again at an exorbitant rate. The government, on the contrary, will sell their corn again to their subjects, as soon as ever the price shall have risen to a certain degree; and by this management they will prevent both the too high and too low price of this commodity, both of which are inconveniences, in their consequences hurtful enough to deserve the care of a *sovereign* to prevent, who hath nothing more at heart than to procure, as  
much

much as can depend on his care and foresight, the happiness of the people which *Providence* hath submitted to his government.

## SECT. VI.

As to wine. The state of *Berne* having a great quantity of wine, as tithes and quit-rents, in the several vineyards in the canton, had formerly a great deal in store, both at *Berne* and elsewhere, of which they made use, in short years, both to pay the salaries in wine, which are annexed to a number of employments, and to supply the poor citizens therewith at a moderate price, observing the same precaution as when they sell corn at a low price; but the salaries in wine have by little and little increased to such a degree, that at this day there is so little left to be laid up, that after two succeeding short years, the state finds itself under a necessity of paying a great part of the salaries in money, which were appointed to be paid in wine, in order to keep it in their power to supply the tradesmen and other poor citizens of *Berne* therewith at a low rate.

I hope, Sir, that I have been so successful as to satisfy your curiosity, and have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your humble servant.

## SECT. VII.

The foregoing curious letter was received some years since by a gentleman of rank, whose superior abilities are continually employed in searching out and communicating to the public, such things as may be useful to mankind; particularly such as tend to the improvement and increase of agriculture, and to make corn cheap; and to him we are indebted for many of the most material facts and papers contained in this Collection.

## SECT. VIII.

Notwithstanding the great care of the magistrates of *Berne*, it appears by this letter, that the people in that *canton* suffer oftener by the dearness of bread than in *England*, which proves that our *corn-laws* are better than those established there, and that *magazines* do not answer the end of keeping *corn* at a moderate price so well as an *exportation* under proper regulations, which most men think they will, and seem justified in so thinking, since they have been generally erected by most politicians.

## SECT. IX.

In relation to this subject, we have the following sensible conversation in a paper called the *Humanist*, numb. 3. dated *April 9, 1757*. Signior *Guastaldi*, when minister here from the republic of *Genoa*, being asked, “Whether in his country *public granaries* had not been found of service?” replied, At

*Genoa* there was no doing without them, and that the *state* had always *seven years* PROVISION *before-hand*\*; “but,” said he, “in your *isle* it is quite different, for you annually grow more than you eat; and if I am not misinformed, it is hardly one year in twenty, that the produce of the earth is not fully sufficient for the inhabitants of it. Therefore, your business rather should be, to get a market for your *superfluity* abroad. Yet, I have been told, so negligent is the *police* here, that at certain times, the *public* have given a bounty to transport the corn from the mouths of your own people, who at those very times stood in great need of it.”

## SECT. X.

Thus far Signior *Guastaldi*. The author goes on: “I am sorry to say the remark of this learned foreigner had too much foundation in truth; yet, I think, the injury he complains of may be easily redressed, by disallowing the bounty when the corn exceeds the *mean* rate, and when beyond such a certain rate, by a total prohibition of exportation†.” And then says, “Satisfied I am, that the common method of stacking corn in the midlands

\* Only one year's PROVISION in *England* would cost very near as much as the amount of the land-tax at 4s. all expenses and waste included, to keep it in good order. But our corn is of a softer nature and more apt to decay than that of *Genoa*; and it may be supposed, the *city* only, and not the *state*, is here meant.

† See Considerations, sec. 4.



of *England*, which preserves it good many years, will fully answer the end of *public granaries*."

## SECT. XI.

*Translation of Abstracts from Ami des Hommes, Vol. III. printed at Amsterdam 1758: the supposed Author Monsieur Mirabeau.*

After shewing, page 60, the inconveniences which the regulations and restrictions relative to the corn-trade have had in *France*, he proposes the leaving it entirely free \* for the future; which, page 61, he says, *Mr. Colbert* did, except as to great cities, particularly those near the sea, which he took care should be provided with foreign corn. But that care appears to him superfluous and dangerous. *Superfluous*, for that the industry of the merchant will always prevent the necessity of such provisions, and by that means the charges and loss of the *magazines* will fall on strangers, or private persons, who will be very ready to support them, and not on the *public*, whose affairs are never better managed than when they have nothing to do †.

\* The bad effects of the contrary conduct are seen, or rather felt, in the *Roman ecclesiastical state*, where there is now, or very lately was, a famine, and the husbandman is so far from being free, that an agent of the Pope's granaries fixes the prices of his corn at so much a bushel, which price he cannot dispute, nor has he liberty to sell to any other than the said agent, and therefore only raises for the support of his own family. See *Essays on Husbandry*, Lond. 1764, p. 117.

† "Du public dont les affaires ne sont jamais mieux administrées, que quand il n'en a point."



*Dangerous*, in that it is beginning an inspection into matters where every inspection opens a door to greater inconveniences, page 63. It hath been proposed, in some provinces, to erect *magazines* of the King's corn, either for the service of the troops, or for the convenience and necessity of the country. But what would be the consequence? When it was necessary to fill those granaries, the name of authority would stop the corn every where, and those employed would have it at what price they pleased.

When it should become necessary to empty the magazines lest the corn should perish, the same sacred name would stop all other sales, and serve as a veil to a certain and unlawful gain.

“ I have seen such men starve a country, and, what is more, wrest from it both honour and wealth.”

He goes on to page 74, in removing all objections which occur to him against making the corn-trade free; and there, as the sum total of what he hath said, proposes an *EDICT* something like that which was passed at *Paris* in 1764, of which a copy is given in the following chapter.

#### SECT. XII.

In regard to magazines, the ingenious author of the *Essays on Husbandry*\* says, page 116, “ I think public granaries quite *detrimental*, rather than

\* Printed at London, 1764, and sold by Brotherton, &c..

*useful*, in a free state like ours. *National* and even *provincial* magazines of corn will naturally produce *monopoly*; and an undue fear of famine joined with much anxiety about hoarding up grain, which will put a stop to exportation, is one of the surest methods I know of bringing on a death." He goes on, and confirms what he says with very strong and conclusive reasons.

---

## CHAPTER II.

### ACCOUNTS FROM FRENCH AUTHORS.

#### SECTION I.

*AN Account what some French Authors say of our Corn-laws, and of some late EDICTS published there in regard to the Corn-trade.*

The author of *L' Ami des Hommes*, vol. iii. p. 53, says, " The *English*, to encourage the culture of corn in their island, have made use of a singular method, which hath *succeeded*, which is, to gratify at the expense of the *state* the exporters of that merchandise.

" They have methodized and regulated that important object of the police, in proportion to the market prices with them of that valuable merchandise.

“ This method may have been good for a time, and may become hurtful in other circumstances; for there is no political regulation that in all minute cases can remain fixed here below.”

## SECT. II.

*Abstracts from a Work, called, Les Interêts de la France mal entendus dans les Branches de l'Agriculture, &c. 2 vol. 12mo. at Amsterdam, 1757: supposed to be wrote by Mr. Boulainvilliers.*

Vol. i. page 93 to 111, an account is given at length of the method of tillage pursued in the county of *Norfolk*, and the benefits which have accrued therefrom, which it is said the *bounty* established in 1689 gave rise to, and that the produce of the land hath in general been augmented thereby; the author goes on:

“ In other *states* private persons pay the government for the exportation of grain; *England* acts quite otherwise, and pays them.

“ All common means made use of to that time to increase the fruits of the earth had been insufficient, or, at least, of little use.

“ Before that epocha, the agriculture of *England* was of little account in *Europe*.

## SECT. III.

“ As long as that *monarchy* thought only of its own subsistence, it always found itself short of the necessary; it was very often obliged to have recourse to foreigners to make up the deficiency of the growth of

of the nation : but when it made its agriculture an object of *commerce*, the cultivation of its land became one of the most abundant in *Europe*.

“ Without that stroke of state, the best concerted of all those which have yet appeared in modern politics, *England* had never sown but for herself, for what would she have done with the *surplus* of her grain ?

“ It was the bounty *only* which could assure her of the sale in foreign markets ; and, for that reason, be the *only* source of the augmentation of her harvests.”

SECT. IV.

He then proceeds to answer objections, shews the benefits which have arisen from the bounty, and says,

“ Let us combine all the means which that monarchy hath put in use, for an age past, to establish its power ; and we shall find, that it is to this in particular, which she is indebted for her elevation.” He then proceeds to page 113, to shew the necessity of giving a bounty on the export of corn in *France*, after our example.

SECT. V.

Vol. ii. fol. 123, speaking of the Act of Navigation, he says, “ It fixed for ever in favour of this nation the balance of power at sea.” The author of *L'Ami des Hommes* quoted above, speaking of the same act, confesseth the great consequence it hath been of

to us, by the uneasiness it gives him. In vol. iii. page 259, he saith, "It would be easy to prove to them, the *English*, that their famous Act of Navigation was a folly, even at the time in which it was proposed; although the incidents, which; at that time, turned the views of foreign powers another way, have caused it to succeed;" which he explains, and adds, "If those powers, which were equally affected by that injury done to all mankind, had taken combined measures against that attempt on public liberty, the *English* would have shamefully retreated; instead of which, each power looked on it as not regarding himself; and, content to obtain the permission to carry to the *queen of nations* the merchandise of its own growth, saw no harm in that act; except the *Dutch*, who are great carriers, but grow little or nothing." He goes on to give it some more abuse, and says, "Now, when every nation turns its view to commerce, it could not be passed."

## SECT. VI.

It must be confessed the last quotations are not directly to the present purpose; but if that act hath been of such benefit in general, no trade in particular hath contributed more to promote the ends thereof than that of corn, by the great number of men necessarily engaged in the navigation of ships and vessels employed for the carriage thereof, both coastways and to foreign parts, which will, it is hoped,



hoped, be a sufficient excuse for our so doing, and help to shew how careful we ought to be in dispensing with, or altering, not only that act, but also our laws relative to the export of corn.

## SECT. VII.

Since the publishing the works from which the above quotations and abstracts are taken, all possible encouragement hath been given to agriculture in *France*; many other valuable pieces have been published, relative more immediately to that, and to the corn-trade; and several declarations and edicts have been published for the regulation of the said trade, both within the kingdom and in respect to exportation and importation to and from foreign parts, all which are drawn up in a manner so conformable to the sentiments of the above authors, as to give reason to believe they were advised with, or, at least, the plans they have sketched out were followed, as far as the nature of the thing would bear.

## SECT. VIII.

It would be tiresome, and is unnecessary, to give translations of all those papers; we shall, however, give the titles of such as could be obtained, and attempt a translation of the EDICT concerning the export and import, which more immediately concerns us.

*Titles*

*Titles of EDICTS published in France relative to the  
Corn-trade.*

First, “A Declaration of the King, giving permission to circulate corn, flour, and pulse, through the whole extent of the kingdom, free from all duties, even those of toll.”—Given at *Versailles* the 25 May 1763.

Second, “Order of the King’s Council of State, explaining an Order of 27 March 1763, and settling a duty on all flour imported.”—Dated 18 September 1763.

Third, “Order of the King’s Council of State, which directs that the liberty given to export flour in casks shall extend to every sort of flour.”—Dated 21 November 1763.

The next is that which relates to the exportation, and is as follows :

*Translation of the French King’s EDICT relative to  
the Exportation of Corn, &c.*

EDICT of the KING

*Concerning the LIBERTY of the EXPORTATION from,  
and IMPORTATION of Grain into the Kingdom.*

*Given at Compeigne, in the month of July 1764.*

Registered in Parliament.

LOUIS, by the grace of God, King of *France*  
and *Navarre*, to all present and to come, greeting ;

The



The attention which we owe to every thing that may contribute to the welfare of our subjects, hath induced us to give a favourable hearing to the petitions which have been addressed to us from all parts, to establish an entire liberty in the corn-trade, and to revoke such laws and regulations as have been heretofore made to restrain it within too strict bounds. After having taken the opinion of persons the best acquainted in the affair, and having carefully deliberated in our council, we thought it necessary to comply with the solicitations which have been made to us for the free exportation and importation of corn and meal, as proper to encourage and increase the cultivation of land, the produce of which is the source of the most real and certain riches of a state, to maintain plenty by magazines and the importation of foreign corn, to prevent corn from being at a price which discourages the grower, to banish monopoly by an irrevocable exclusion of all particular permissions, and in the end, by a free and entire concurrence *or competition* in the trade, to keep up between different nations that communication of exchanging superfluities for necessities, so conformable to the order established by Divine Providence, and to the views of humanity which ought to animate all sovereigns. We are convinced, that it is worthy of our continual care for the happiness of our people, and of our justice towards the proprietors of lands and the farmers, to grant them a liberty which they so earnestly desire: and we have,

have, moreover, thought it necessary to secure, by a solemn and perpetual law, the merchants and traders from all fear of the return of prohibitive laws; but to remove the fears of those who are not as yet fully convinced of the advantage which the liberty of such a commerce must produce. It seemed to us necessary to fix a price of corn, above which, all exportation out of the kingdom should be prohibited, when wheat shall have risen to that price. And as we ought not to neglect any occasion to excite industry, we have resolved to encourage at the same time the *French* navigation, by securing to *French* vessels and seamen, exclusively of all others, the carriage of corn to be exported. For THESE CAUSES, and others moving us hereto, with the advice of our council, and of our certain knowledge, full power, and royal authority, we have by this present, perpetual, and irrevocable Edict, ordered, decreed, and ordained, ordering, decreeing, and ordaining, willing, and it is our pleasure, as follows :

## 1.

Our Declaration of the 25 *May* 1763, concerning the free transportation of corn within our kingdom, with permission to establish magazines, together with the letters patents explaining the same, of the 5 *March* last, shall be executed according to their form and tenour; consequently, it is our pleasure, that the said interior circulation *shall not be in any wise obstructed*.

## II.

*Also, we permit* all our subjects, of whatever quality and condition they may be, even the nobility and privileged persons, to trade in every species of corn, seeds, grain, pulse, and meal, whether it be with natives or foreigners, and to form, for that end, such magazines as they shall think proper, without being liable to be searched, disturbed, or bound, by any formalities other than those mentioned by this present Edict; nor shall the said nobility and privileged persons be subject to any impositions by reason of such trade *only*.

## III.

It is our pleasure, to that end, that the exportation, to foreigners, of all corn, seeds, grain, pulse, and meal, shall be entirely free, both by land and by sea, with the exceptions and limitations only laid down by the following articles. We strictly prohibit and forbid all our officers and those of *lords* to oppose or hinder such importation in any wise, in any case, or under any pretence whatsoever.

## IV.

The export of wheat, rye, maslin, and meal, shall not be permitted, when by sea, as to the present, until it shall be by us otherwise ordered, except from the ports of *Calais, St. Valory, Dunkirk, Fécamp, Dieppe, le Havre, Rouen, Honfleur, Cherbourg, Caen, Granville, Morlaise, St. Malo, Brest, Port Louis, Nantes, Vannes, la Rochelle, Bourdeaux, Blaye, Libourne, Bayonne, Cette, Vendres, Mar-*  
*scilles,*

*seilles*, and *Toulon*; and the exportation may not be carried on but on *French* vessels, of which the captain and *two thirds* of the mariners at least shall be *French*, under pain of confiscation.

## v.

Being desirous to provide, by the introduction of foreign corn into our kingdom, so that corn may not rise to a price burdensome to our people, we permit all our subjects and all foreigners to bring freely into our kingdom, on all kinds of vessels without distinction, all corn, seeds, grain, meal, and pulse, coming from abroad, paying the duties imposed by this present Edict.

## vi.

In case, nevertheless, when, contrary to our expectation, and notwithstanding the reasonable hopes which the free importation of such foreign grain gives, the price of wheat shall be risen to twelve livres ten sous the quintal \* and upwards, in any one of the ports or places situated on the frontier of our kingdom, and that the said price shall be kept up in the same place, for three following market-days; it is our pleasure that the liberty granted by the foregoing articles shall remain suspended in such place, absolutely, and without there being need of any new regulation. We therefore prohibit, and most expressly forbid, in the said case,

\* About 48s. the quarter, *London* measure.

all our subjects to *export* \*, or cause any grain to be exported, from the said place, until that, upon the representations of the officers of the said place, which are to be addressed to the controller general of our finances, the opening of the said place hath been ordered in our council, to the end, to re-establish there, a general and indefinite liberty for the import and export of grain, without which, no particular permissions in this respect shall or may be given in any case by our governors, commandants, commissaries in their departments, or other our officers.

## VII.

Wheat shall be subject, on the importation into the kingdom, to a duty of one per cent.; and rye, other corn, seeds, grain, flour, and pulse, to a duty of three per cent. It is our pleasure, nevertheless, that the said grains shall pay, on the exportation from our kingdom, only a duty of one half per cent. for which purpose, those who would import or export these commodities shall be obliged, under such penalties as shall be fixed, to make at the custom-houses established on the frontiers of our kingdom for the receipts of our dues, declarations, conformable to the regulations, of the quantity and quality of the said commodities.

\* *Export* or is not in the original.



## VIII.

We permit all foreigners or natives to import all kinds of grain into our kingdom, and there to lay them up, that is to say, wheat for a year, and other corns, seeds, grain, meal or flour, and pulse, for six months only; during which times they may export them freely to foreigners, either whole or in meal, on all sorts of vessels without distinction, without paying any duty; and they shall not be liable to pay the duties imposed by the preceding article, only in the case where the said commodities are brought in for the consumption of the inhabitants of our kingdom, or after the expiration of the time allowed for laying them up.

## IX.

We repeal all edicts, declarations, and regulations contrary hereto, nevertheless, without making any innovation, as to the present, in the rules of the police hitherto observed, for victualling our good city of *Paris*, which shall continue to be observed, as heretofore, until it hath by us been otherwise ordered. Moreover, we command our well-beloved and trusty *conseillers* \*, holding our court of the Parliament of *Paris*, that they cause our present Edict to be read, published, and registered, and the contents hereof to keep, observe, and execute according to its form and tenour, every thing to the contrary notwithstanding. We will that to copies of this

\* *Conseillers les Gens.*

present Edict, collated by one of our well-beloved and faithful counsellors-secretaries, credit be given as to the original, FOR SUCH IS OUR PLEASURE: and to the end that this be a matter firm and stable for ever, we have caused our seal to be fixed hereto.

GIVEN at *Compeigne*, in the month of *July*, in the year of grace 1764, and of our reign the forty-ninth.

*Signed*, LOUIS; and lower down, *Par le Roi, signed*, PHELIPEAUX: *Examined*, LOUIS: Examined in council, *De l'Averdy*: and sealed with the great seal of green wax, in strings of red and green silk.

*Registered*, &c. in due form at *Paris*, in *Parliament*, all the Chambers assembled, 19 July 1764.

*Signed*, *Dufrane*.

Since the foregoing Edict, letters patents of the King, which fix the duties on the export and import of grain, and permit the circulation and export of every kind of grain paying the duties therein mentioned, were published at *Fontainebleau*, Nov. 7, 1764.

These are explanatory and in amendment of the Edict of *July* 1764, and extend it to *linseed*, *rape-seed*, *turnip-seed*, *cole-seed*, and others the like\*, fit to make oil.

If any thing hath been done since the last, it hath not come to hand.

\* Lin, rabette, navette, colfat et autres semblables.



## SECT. X.

During the year 1764, the propriety of the foregoing laws has been fully, freely, calmly, and fairly debated in print, in several pamphlets, &c. in *France*, some of which we have been favoured with, and subjoin the original titles, that those who think proper may procure them, and they will find in them a clear account of the nature of our corn-laws with very little mistake: the chief or most material is in relation to opening the ports; they know it is done by the price in the markets advancing to a certain value; but are not acquainted that it is ascertained at, and certified from, the quarter-sessions, and that when once the port is open, it is to remain so for a fixed time; but imagine, that if the markets should fall ever so soon, or even after a *ship* is in the port, the *high* duties must be paid. Their merchants must be better informed, at least those of any consequence, and yet it is very possible a mistake of this kind may at some times have prevented some imports.

Titles of *French* Pamphlets.

## SECT. XI.

Numb. 1. Contains upwards of 150 pages, octavo.

“ De l'Exportation et de l'Importation des Grains. *Memoire* lû à la Société Royale d'Agriculture de Soissons, par M. *Dupont*, l'un des Associés.”

1764.

“ Lettre contre la Liberté de l’Exportation.”

“ Reponse à la Lettre contre la Liberté, &c.”

“ Reflexions pour servir de seconde Reponse.”

Numb. 2. “ Reflexions sur la Police des Grains en FRANCE et en ANGLETERRE.” *Mars 1764.*

SECT. XII.

From the first of these we shall give only one extract. At page 146, the author having before recited many objections to the scheme there proposed, adds, “ When it was under consideration in *England* to restore agriculture from its perishing state by a grand operation, the same reasonings stood in the way there, and were then made use of, and even stronger, for *at that time we supported Spain entirely, and we supported England more frequently than she comes at this day to our assistance\**; we had, notwithstanding all this, at that time, still more lands capable of cultivation, so that the boldness of our neighbours was so much the greater. Let us com-

\* This is confirmed by *Howell* (see note, page 61) to be the case in 1621; and in *Sam. Hartlib’s* Legacy of Husbandry, 3d edit. *Lond.* 1655, page 93, are the following strong expressions: “ Although the husbandman hath been laborious and diligent in his calling *these last years*, yet our crops have been thin, his cattle swept away, and *scarcity* and *famine* hath seized on *all* parts of this land; and if we had not been supplied from *abroad*, we had quite devoured all the creatures of this island for our sustenance; and yet we could not be satisfied, but must have devoured one another.” This appears to have been wrote in *Aug.* 1651.

pare the present state of our cultivation and of theirs, *and we shall find the solution.*"

The words for the italics are *voilà la solution*; and the author explains himself no further, but leaves us to guess at his meaning; which seems to be precisely this: If *England* dared to attempt a revival of her agriculture when ours was in such a flourishing state, and so much exceeded theirs, that we supported *Spain* entirely, assisted them oftener than they now do us, and still had more lands capable of cultivation; and, notwithstanding all this, succeeded in the attempt; surely *France*, whose present state of agriculture will not be found, on the comparison, so deplorable as that of the *English* then was, need not fear to succeed in attempting its restoration.

Our extracts from the "Reflections on the Police of Corn in *France* and *England*" will be somewhat longer.

#### SECT. XIII.

Page 9. "*England* heretofore languished in the bonds of an absolute prohibition \*; it felt the same effects as we feel at this day, a disregard of tillage, a reduction of the price of labour; and poverty was the lot of *all* who had no other patrimony besides health and the labour of their hands. A writing published in 1621, by Sir *Thomas Culpeper*, informs us, that, at that time, the *French* with

\* It was so in effect, though not in fact. See list of statutes, page 69.

their corn, and the *Dutch* with that of *Poland*, supplied the *English* markets, and that the national corn was continually below its true value. At present, says *Culpeper*, *whilst corn and the other merchandises which the earth produces are at a low price, the spade and the plough are forsaken. The poor find little employment, and wages are extremely low. If the proprietors of lands could find their account in mending them, there would soon be many more people employed in their cultivation than there now are; and wages would be better. Every man blest with health and strength would not be poor, except through extreme laziness* \*."

SECT. XIV.

"The ascendant which prejudice had on the multitude, and the weak and slow impression which more solid and clear principles made on prepossession, did not permit the *English* to distinguish readily the causes of their poverty, and it was not till 1660 that our success and their losses † opened their eyes," &c.

He goes on to page 13, in giving an account of the progress of the alterations made in the *English* corn-laws, and there says, "This is an account of the origin, progress, and present state of the *English* policy in relation to the corn-trade. It was es-

\* Not being able to meet with *Culpeper's* book, the above is translated back from the *French*.

† What losses he refers to doth not appear: the export-price was carried up to 40s. in 1660.

tablished in passing through all the degrees of experience necessary to form, with a knowledge of the principles, a permanent plan."

Nevertheless, he says, page 17, "Our policy is still imperfect, and hath plain inconveniences, which cannot be removed, as long as the bounty subsists."

And page 24, "By reason of prohibiting the importation by excessive duties, *England* hath been under a necessity to suspend sometimes that free commerce therein to which the *English* are indebted for the superiority of their tillage, and consequently for the value of landed estates with them\*."

#### SECT. XV.

It may plainly be collected from this pamphlet, which seems to be the work of, or at least wrote under the direction of, the author of *L'Ami des Hommes*, that the writer foresees, if by the continuation of the bounty we go on to encourage the export, and by the high duties prevent the free importation of corn, the success of the late alterations in their corn-laws, as far as they regard exportation, will be more materially obstructed thereby, than by any opposition which can be made to them at home; and there can be no foundation of hope to see the time return, when the corn of *France* shall AGAIN supply the *English* markets, and spoil the sales of that grown at home.

\* The expression is *les forces du fonds national*.

## SECT. XVI.

Page 35, &c. it is proved that the scarcity in *France* in 1740, was only imaginary, and arose solely from the restrictions on the corn-trade, the circulating thereof being then unlawful, which prevented the merchants from speculating in corn; and by that means the whole stock was in the hands of the farmer, who, on its growing dearer, left off selling, and withheld it, in hopes of a still higher price; “an evil which,” as he says, “is inevitable in all places, where those who are possessed of the corn have nothing to fear from the competition of merchants from abroad, [or others.]—*Mr. Orry*,” he says, “imported the value of thirteen millions \*; but there was none of it sold; and that corn perished, because on the arrival of that succour, how moderate soever it was for a great kingdom †, where they talked of want, the fear of loss determined all to open their granaries.”

## SECT. XVII.

Have we not, more than once, found the like effects from a small importation? Hath not every importation, even at its beginning, such an effect as to prevent corn growing dearer? And do not these observations shew the necessity of fixing a price at which corn should be permitted to be im-

\* Between 250,000 and 300,000 *English* quarters.

† Which is supposed to consume more than FIFTEEN MILLIONS of *London* quarters annually in bread.



ported duty free? Why should not wheat, for instance, be imported duty free, when the price thereof is returned to and certified from the quarter-sessions to be fifty shillings, and other grain in proportion?

We must, however, take care not to fix the price too low, lest we encourage foreign agriculture, to the detriment of our own.

---

## CHAPTER III.

### OF THE NUMBER OF THE PEOPLE.

#### SECTION I.

EXTRACT from a pamphlet in 12mo. published at *London* by *Carew Reynel*, Esq. 1674, intituled, *The true English Interest*. Page 59, Of Marriage and Populacy: "Our people were consumed mightily in these late years: some three hundred thousand were killed in the late *civil wars*; and about two hundred thousand more have been wasted in re-peopling *Ireland*, and two hundred thousand lost in the great *sickness*, and as many more gone to the *plantations*."

All these together make 900,000, and perhaps the numbers are not greatly exaggerated. *Rapin*, vol. ii. fol. 224, says, 40,000 were lost in the civil wars;



wars; but that he hath not given the whole number: the account of repeopling *Ireland* seems probable; for, according to *Rapin*, vol. ii. fol. 386, upwards of 300,000 were massacred there in 1643, besides what were afterwards killed in war. Near seventy thousand died of the sickness in the bills only; and the numbers that for many years continually withdrew to the plantations were very great. And supposing these accounts to be true, more than *one eighth* of the people were lost by those means; not that it can be supposed the number was lessened by *one eighth*; these losses were many years coming about, and were at the same time continually making good.

We have since 1674 had four wars, in which many lives were lost; but we have had no very considerable emigrations of our people; and by the revocation of the *Edict of Nantz* in 1685, and other means, have gained a very considerable number.

#### SECT. II.

There have been since 1685 four several accounts taken of the number of houses in *England* and *Wales*.

The first from the hearth-tax, published in 1691-2, by *John Houghton*, F. R. S. and reprinted in 1727, by *Richard Bradley*, F. R. S. in a collection of papers, called *Husbandry and Trade improved*, which makes the number 1,175,951. There are reasons to think

think this was the work of Dr. *Halley*, and this account is copied in the Present State of *England*.

The second, which is published in the *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix. fol. 268, by Dr. *Brackenridge*, who says, the houses, about the year 1710, he finds from a public office, which had caused an account to be taken of them in order to lay a tax, were 729,048; and the cottages which were omitted, he supposes one fourth more; in all, 911,310.

The third, not published, was in the year 1755, but contained only the total number of houses in *England* and *Wales* charged with the duty, which was 692,389.

The fourth, which also was not published, was in the year 1758, and contains an account of the total number of houses in *England* and *Wales*, charged and not charged, inhabited and uninhabited; the whole number of which is 986,482, of which there were cottages 282,429, and there were uninhabited 24,904.

This last must be supposed the most exact account ever taken; and by its agreement with 1710 and 1758, we may conclude that the number hath in general continued much the same. As to that published in 1692, it appears to have been only a calculation made from the produce of the hearth-tax; and the number of houses set down, by supposing a certain number of hearths, about *three* to each house, for the whole tax, is said to have produced

duced 256,000*l.* \* per annum; which at 2*s.* per hearth, allowing three to each house, will make the whole number amount to 853,333: the remaining number of 322,618, being little more than one fourth of the whole, may be supposed to have been added for houses of and under 20*s.* a year, that were not chargeable.

And that this is not mere conjecture, appears in that the number of houses in the counties of *York*, *Middlesex* (including *London*), *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surry*, and *Sussex*, in the account of 1758, is only 279,277; whereas in that of 1692 it is 336,103, that is, more by 56,826 at that time than now †: and it will be difficult to prove that the number of houses is lessened in those counties since 1692.

This difference must therefore arise from the rate of hearths, whatever it was, being too low; and consequently, calculating from the amount of the

\* *Rapin*, vol. ii. fol. 630.

† Numbers of Houses.

		1692.	1758.
<i>Yorkshire</i>	— — — —	106,151	96,212
<i>Middlesex</i> with <i>London</i>	— —	100,136	—
<i>Ditto</i> and <i>Southwark</i>	— —	—	89,736
<i>Kent</i>	— — — —	39,242	35,483
<i>Essex</i>	— — — —	34,819	26,769
<i>Surry</i>	— — — —	34,218	14,721
<i>Sussex</i>	— — — —	21,537	16,356
		<hr/>	<hr/>
	Totals	336,103	279,277
	Deduct	279,277	
		<hr/>	
	Difference	56,826	

tax

tax in each place made the number of houses too great.

By the account of 1758, 704,053 houses were charged; by the account of 1755 only 692,389; now between those two years the act of 31 G. 2. c. 22. passed which charged a greater number than the former acts; so that these accounts agree very well with each other, and with that of 1710, which supposeth 729,048 the number proper to be taxed at that time; and it cannot be supposed but those sent to number them raised the account as high as possible. Upon the whole, there seems reason to think, that, for this century past, the number of houses hath been near one million, and six to each dwelling is not over-rating the people; which agrees with Dr. *Brackenridge*; as may be seen *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix. page 279; and he calculates the annual increase at 18,000, which, he says, is *small*, but without the increase of foreigners *would be very inconsiderable, if any thing at all* \*.

\* The enumeration of 1801 evinces, that the whole of this chapter "Of the Number of the People" is egregious misinformation. From that enumeration it appears that there were then in *England and Wales* 1,575,923 inhabited houses, containing 9,343,578 souls. By comparing this number with the numbers in *Gregory King's Political Observations*, it is equally evident that there had been an increase of people, in this country, since the Revolution in 1686, of 2,830,000 souls. See the Estimate of Mr. *Chalmers*, published by J. *Stockdale*, in *Piccadilly*.

EDIT. 1804.

## CHAPTER IV.

OF THE SORTS OF BREAD, AND WHAT NUMBER  
OF THE PEOPLE EAT OF EACH.

It is certain that bread made of wheat is become much more generally the food of the common people since 1689, than it was before that time, but it is still very far from being the food of the people in general; and some, who have considered this matter with great attention, and are better informed in regard thereto than most inquirers generally be, were inclined to think that in the year 1764 one half of the people could not be supposed to feed on such bread.

In order therefore to get at all possible certainty in this matter, no pains have been spared; and from a consideration of the several sorts of grain with which the *London* market is supplied from, and sends to, the distant parts of the kingdom, after many inquiries made of, and conversations held with, many who travel into, and have lived or live in several of the distant counties, particularly the labouring people, who are best acquainted with the bread they eat, and calculating the number of mouths from the number of houses, there is reason to think that more than half the people do live on such bread.

This

This work would be too tedious to insert, but an abstract follows; in which, though there may be some small difference as to the number of houses, as a full copy was not permitted, but only the total number and some extracts \*, yet the whole number agrees with the account of 1758; and, if any thing, the number who eat wheat is set rather too low.

The kingdom, with *Wales*, is divided into six parts, taking those counties which lie most contiguous, as may be seen in the map.

Part the first contains,

- |  |                         |
|--|-------------------------|
| 1. <i>London</i> , with <i>Middle-</i> | 8. <i>Buckingham</i> ,  |
| sex and <i>Southwark</i> ,             | 9. <i>Hertford</i> ,    |
| 2. <i>Essex</i> ,                      | 10. <i>Bedford</i> ,    |
| 3. <i>Kent</i> ,                       | 11. <i>Cambridge</i> ,  |
| 4. <i>Surry</i> ,                      | 12. <i>Huntingdon</i> , |
| 5. <i>Sussex</i> ,                     | 13. <i>Suffolk</i> ,    |
| 6. <i>Hants</i> ,                      | 14. <i>Norfolk</i> .    |
| 7. <i>Berkshire</i> ,                  |                         |

Part the second contains,

- |                       |                       |
|-----------------------|-----------------------|
| 15. <i>Wilts</i> ,    | 18. <i>Devon</i> ,    |
| 16. <i>Somerset</i> , | 19. <i>Cornwall</i> . |
| 17. <i>Dorset</i> ,   |                       |

\* Which see note, page 204.

## Part the third contains,

- |                        |                         |
|------------------------|-------------------------|
| 20. <i>Monmouth,</i>   | 26. <i>Northampton,</i> |
| 21. <i>Gloucester,</i> | 27. <i>Salop,</i>       |
| 22. <i>Oxford,</i>     | 28. <i>Stafford,</i>    |
| 23. <i>Hereford,</i>   | 29. <i>Leicester,</i>   |
| 24. <i>Worcester,</i>  | 30. <i>Rutland.</i>     |
| 25. <i>Warwick,</i>    |                         |

## Part the fourth contains,

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 31. <i>Chester,</i>    | 34. <i>Lincoln,</i>   |
| 32. <i>Derby,</i>      | 35. <i>Lancaster.</i> |
| 33. <i>Nottingham,</i> |                       |

## Part the fifth contains,

- |                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| 36. <i>York,</i>        | 39. <i>Cumberland,</i>     |
| 37. <i>Westmorland,</i> | 40. <i>Northumberland.</i> |
| 38. <i>Durham,</i>      |                            |

## Part the sixth contains

Six counties in South, and six counties in North  
*Wales.*

The accounts of each part stand as follows.



Parts.	Num. of Houses.	Numb. of Souls, six to each.	What Number in the whole eat			
			Wheat.	Barley.	Rye.	Oats.
1	348,187	2,089,122	1,866,405	36,741	185,976	—
2	150,689	904,134	682,815	221,319	—	—
3	170,746	1,024,476	691,258	159,136	156,237	17,845
4	123,025	738,150	200,339	128,621	118,795	290,395
5	148,760	892,560	283,996	37,196	285,382	285,986
6	45,075	270,450	29,344	127,585	113,521	—
	986,482	5,918,892	3,754,157	710,598	859,911	594,226

Say the whole number is 6,000,000, and that of  
those who eat wheat is 3,750,000  
Barley — 739,000  
Rye — 888,000  
Oats — 623,000

Total 6,000,000

## CHAPTER V.

### OF THE QUANTITIES OF THE SEVERAL SORTS OF GRAIN CONSUMED ANNUALLY IN THE KINGDOM.

#### SECTION I.

THE quantity of bread, which is daily or annually consumed by each individual, depends so much on his health, exercise, labour, constitution, and the quantity of his other sorts of food, that after all our inquiries we must be content with conjectures; but in order to found such conjectures on probability, here follows what material informations could be obtained, with some observations thereon; and averages of each are struck.

## SECT. II.

*Maitland*, in his *Survey of London*, ed. 1756, fol. 756, says, “The bakers, after some deliberation, unanimously agreed, that, including puddings and pies, and other pastry ware, the quantity of flour consumed in this city and suburbs, would daily amount to *ten ounces* \* per head ;” to supply which, requires 5 b. 2 p. † of wheat, *London* measure ‡, per annum.

## SECT. III.

Dr. *Brackenridge*, in *Philosophical Transactions*, vol. xlix. fol. 268, says, “Now it is known, and I have observed in the country, that labouring people in health, on the average eat one quarter, which is 5 12 lb. of flour (annually), or 1 lb. 6 oz. per day : we may allow that healthy and unhealthy do not consume half that quantity one with the other ; and to make the consumption as *small* as can reasonably

\* Wherever *English* weight is mentioned, that of *avoirdupois* is meant.

† *Note*, The proportion of the flour to the wheat is as seven to nine of the fine sort, and as six to eight on a medium ; which last proportion is followed throughout this Supplement : and the weight of the bushel of wheat is called fifty-seven pounds, which is as much as all the wheat, fine and coarse together, statute-measure, would weigh : and here it may be proper to remark, that statute, *London*, and *Winchester* measure, are all the same.

‡ *Note*, All the following accounts and quotations are reduced to the same measure.

be imagined, *suppose* three people, children included, consume as one labourer ; *i. e.* one quarter yearly, or each person 7 oz. per day, &c.” If the Doctor really means *flour*, a third part must be added thereto, to shew the wheat ; if he mistakes meal for flour, then it is the same as wheat ; but he makes his bushel 64 lb. ; whereas a bushel of meal is only 56 lb. : we will suppose he means meal, 512 lb. of which is full 1 qr. 1 b. per annum, the one third of which is only 3 b.

## SECT. IV.

Mr. *Hume*, in his *Essays*, *Edinb.* edit. 1752, page 235, *Of ancient Nations*, says, “The portion of corn given every month to every man of full years in *Rome* was five modii, or about  $\frac{1}{2}$  of an *English* bushel\* ; *i. e.* 1 qr. 2 b. per annum.”

## SECT. V.

Mr. *Wallace*, *Of the Number of Mankind*, *Edinb.* edit. 1753, page 293, speaking of the *Athenians*, says, “They had of grain alone, more than one

\* Which he says “was too little for a family, and too much for an individual.” But if by bushel is meant that of *London*, it should seem he is mistaken ; for, according to what he says, the contents of the *modius* weighed about 9 lb. 8 oz. ; whereas, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, it weighed 14 lb. and above  $\frac{2}{3}$ , say, 14 lb. 8 oz. the contents corresponding to one *London* peck, and 7,68 cub. inches ; and we think Dr. *Arbuthnot*’s opinion preferable to Mr. *Hume*’s, as he made these sorts of inquiries his particular study, and call this 1 qr. 7 b. 1 p. per annum.

*Scotch,*

*Scotch*, or about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *English* peck a week to each of them: no inconsiderable allowance, considering the plenty of fruits and other provisions with which *Attica* abounded." In proof of which he hath the following note, *viz.* "Many of the labouring people in *Scotland*, when they are on board wages, have no more a week than two *Scotch* pecks of oatmeal for the whole maintenance. One *Scotch* peck is to an *English* peck as 1,47 to one nearly." The *Athenians* had 2 qrs. 3 b. 2 p. of wheat, and the *Scotch* have 4 qrs. 7 b. of oatmeal per annum. But query, if there is not some mistake in the last? for it will require 9 qrs. 6 b. of oats to make 4 qrs. 7 b. of meal.

## SECT. VI.

In *Lancashire*, a measure of oats, equal to near half a *London* bushel, makes 9 lb. which is a peck measure of oatmeal, and what a labouring man eats in a week; *i. e.* 3 qrs. 2 b. \* of oats per annum.

## SECT. VII.

*Recherche de Monnoie*, printed at *Paris*, 1762, page 157, says, "A modius, or *Roman* bushel of wheat, was sufficient to support a man a week; it is the present *Tuscan* bushel, and contains 16 lb.

\* *Note*, Two quarters of oats will seldom make one quarter of oatmeal.

marc weight \*. The *Egyptian* bushel, which is at this day the *Paris* bushel †, which the *Romans* frequently used, weighed *twenty French* pounds. Our *peasants*, one with another, with the animals which they support, consume in the same time of eight days, *twenty* pounds of sixteen ounces : it is true bread is almost *all* they eat, and that the *Italians* are a *little* more moderate." *Sixteen* pounds marc weight of *Tuscany* are, by *Pereira's* Tables, equal to about 8 lb. avoirdupois ; *i. e.* 7 b. 1 p. per annum. *Note*, *twenty* pounds of *Paris* make 21 lb. 14 oz. 6 dr. but we shall go by the measure, and 52 bushels of *Paris* make  $4\frac{1}{3}$  setiers ; *i. e.* 2 qrs. 3 b. per annum.

## SECT. VIII.

*Essai sur les Monnoies*, printed at *Paris*, 1746, page 52, in the notes, says, " It is not thought too high an estimation of the consumption of men, one with the other, to rate it at three setiers a year :

\* It is natural to suppose, the *Tuscan* pound is here meant ; but by the author saying the *Italians* are a *little* more moderate, it should rather be understood of that of *Paris*, for then they eat 1qr. 7 b. per annum ; *i. e.* four fifths of what the *French* eat ; although if it is taken in this sense, it should seem there was no need to apologize for the great stomachs of the *peasants* in comparison of the *Italians*, by introducing other animals, and saying bread is almost *all* they eat. However, we prefer the alteration as most probable.

† Twelve *Paris* bushels make one setier, and the quarter of *London* is one setier and  $\frac{3}{4}$  ; therefore, the setier is 4 b. 1 p. and  $\frac{1}{3}$ . See *Essai sur les Monnoies*, fol. 68.

if there are those who eat less, there are a great many who consume more." Now three setiers are fully equal to 1 qr. 4 b. 3 p. *London* measure.

Page 57: "It is estimated that those who are the greatest eaters of new and soft bread, consume four setiers a year, *i. e.* 2 qrs. 1 b.; but that a fourth part remains in bran\*. Workmen and laborious people, who eat only *brown* bread, eat more: it may be reckoned that those whose labour is the least fatiguing eat two pounds and a quarter, and those whose labour is the hardest, as porters, &c. consume as far as three pounds a day."  $2\frac{1}{4}$  lb. is 1 qr. 4 b. 3 p. and 3 lb. is 2 qr. 1 b. per ann.†. "Each domestic of *Paris*, on the footing of 9 lb. of bread per week, without reckoning that eat in soup, or that which they eat as way-bits, would consume annually 468 lb. of white bread, or three setiers of wheat at least: it will require more for workmen, who eat very little meat, and who have not that which one gives to domestics besides their bread."

Three setiers are equal to 1 qr. 4 b. 3 p. *London* measure.

But notwithstanding what this author hath said as above, he hath in his notes, page 57, as follows, *viz.*

#### SECT. IX.

"The prisoners, according to the eleventh article of the Arret of Parliament, published the

\* This agrees with note, p. 209, which see.

† *Note*, In this bread the bran is included.



18th *June* 1717, ought to have each of them per day, a loaf of a good quality, and of the weight of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  lb. at least; so that the setier of wheat making 272 lb. of *brown* bread, will last them  $181\frac{1}{2}$  days, and they will consume two setiers of wheat at least in a year, *i. e.* 1 qr. 0 b. 2 p. The ration of every soldier is the same, a pound and a half, besides meat and wine.

“The cavalry are furnished, even on the march, with 36 ounces of bread per day, *i. e.* 1 qr. 4 b. 3 p. besides two pounds of meat, and a pint and half of wine. They consume each three setiers on this footing. The *Quinze Vingts*\*, who had formerly four, have now only three setiers.”

#### SECT. X.

It appears that our soldiers have also one pound and a half of bread a day when encamped, and that the prisoners in some gaols† have the same: both these are *brown* bread, made sometimes with the bran taken out, and sometimes with it left in, suppose half of each sort, and then the consumption is about 1 qr. 1 b. per head yearly.

\* A sort of hospital at *Paris* for blind men and women, both married and single, who beg in the churches and streets. *Richelet.*

† In *London* the prisoners have of wheaten bread only one penny loaf per day, and in some other gaols one three-penny loaf every two days; consequently these allowances vary according to the price of wheat: when wheat is 4s. a bushel the first is 11 oz. and the last 16.



## SECT. XI.

In the Royal Hospitals at *Chelsea* and *Greenwich* the allowance is one pound per head a day of *wheaten* bread; which it is said will go as far as a larger quantity of brown, *i. e.* 7 b. of wheat a year.

## SECT. XII.

From the inspection of the accounts of a parish workhouse, within five miles of *London*, for seven years\*, it appears that they have consumed on the average six pounds of bread per head weekly; *i. e.* six bushels of wheat a year.

## SECT. XIII.

A baker says, "When I was an apprentice in the country, we served two single men who were *shepherds*, who constantly eat, the one five quarter loaves and the other four every week, *i. e.* 2 qrs. 3 b. 2 p. per annum each."

## SECT. XIV.

Two citizens of *London*, the one a jeweller, and the other a printer, say, the first, that he hath ten in family, of which seven are apprentices, that their weekly consumption of bread and flour is seven half-peck loaves, *i. e.* 6 b. 2 p. per head per annum;

\* *Viz.* from *March* 1753, to *March* 1760; and the numbers and ages of the poor on the average were as follows: not exceeding ten years 15, ten to thirty 10, thirty to fifty 13, fifty to seventy 31, seventy and upwards 5; in the whole, seventy-four,

the second, that he hath six in family, four of which are apprentices, and that his weekly expense of bread and flour is six half-peck loaves, *i. e.* 1 qr. 2 p. per head per annum.

The medium of these two might be taken for the average of the bread consumed by the labouring people in *London*, *i. e.* 7 b. 2 p.; but deduct the two pecks, and call it only seven bushels.

## SECT. XV.

Two farmers, who live in *Essex*, in such a situation, that what they and their servants eat at market, at least equals what their visitors eat in their houses, consume in their families, which together consist of seventeen persons, in flour annually 24 sacks, *i. e.* 1 qr. 1 b. 1½ p. per head.

And it appears upon inquiry, from the quantity of *bread* corn ground at a mill in the country for several families there, that they consume about the like quantity per head.

## SECT. XVI.

Extract of a Letter from *Newcastle upon Tyne*,  
Oct. 1765.

“With regard to the quantity of rye which will serve one man in bread for one year, the most exact calculation I can get is as follows:

“A labouring man generally eats in a week as much rye bread as costs him 1s. 3d. which weighs 20 lb. 10 oz.; and I am informed a *Winchester* bushel

bushel of rye when baked weighs four stone ; so that at that rate a man will eat in a year nineteen bushels of rye, 2 qrs. 3 b." See the note at the end of the next section.

" That kind of grain is not so much used now amongst the poorer sort of people as formerly ; for almost all the pitmen, and those labouring men that earn above nine or ten shillings a week, eat wheaten bread ; so that I reckon only one *half* of the labouring people in this country are now fed with rye."

Upon receipt of the above, a request was made to know what quantity of wheat a man consumed, and the following answer returned :

#### SECT. XVII.

" The wheat bread most in use amongst the labouring people, is what we call household bread, made of 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th flour, all mixed together : a labouring man will eat of this bread in a week as much as costs him 1s. 9d.; which weighs, according to the present standard, 18 lb. 11½ oz.; and according to the best information I can get, a bushel of wheat, *Winchester* measure, produces of flour 3 st. 5 lb. weight, and it gains when baked into bread 61 lb.; which makes 3 st. 1 lb. in bread. At this rate, I reckon a man will eat in a year 18¼b. of wheat, 2 qrs. 2 b. 1 p.

	st.	lb,
“ One bushel of <i>good</i> wheat	4	7
Deduct for bran and meal	1	2
when ground - - - }		
	<hr/>	
	3	5 neat flour.”

*Note,* This writer is extremely exact: the only error he falls into, is one common to the most accurate writers, *viz.* the taking for his calculations the weights of the *best* wheat and rye, which is 6 lb. above the average; and consequently, we should call the first 2 qrs. 5 b.; and the second 2 qrs.  $0\frac{1}{2}$  p.

In order to make what hath been said intelligible, let us bring the same under our view, by giving

## SECT. XIX.

*A List of the foregoing Accounts, beginning with the least, and correcting Hume's Account of the Romans, and the Account from Recherche de Monnoie, of the Tuscans, by Arbuthnot.*

Section			qrs.	b.	p.
3. <i>Brackenridge's</i> average	—	—	0	3	0
2. <i>Maitland's</i> ditto	—	—	0	5	2
12. Workhouse	—	—	0	6	0
14. Citizens	—	—	0	7	0
11. Hospitals, wheaten	—	—	0	7	0
9. <i>French</i> prisoners and soldiers	—	—	1	0	2
3. <i>Brackenridge's</i> labourers	—	—	1	1	0
10. Our soldiers and prisoners	—	—	1	1	0
15. Farmers and families	—	—	1	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$
8. Average of <i>French</i> nation	—	—	1	4	3
				8.	Do-

Section			qrs.	b.	p.
8. Domestics of <i>Paris</i>	—	—	1	4	3
9. <i>French</i> cavalry and Quinze Vingt			1	4	3
8. Ditto labourers	—	—	1	4	3
7. <i>Italians</i> 0 7 1 } by <i>Arbuthnot</i> {			1	7	0
4. <i>Romans</i> 1 2 0 }			1	7	1
8. <i>French</i> eaters of new bread	—	—	2	1	0
8. Ditto porters	—	—	2	1	0
7. Ditto peasants	—	—	2	3	0
5. <i>Athenians</i>	—	—	2	3	2
13. <i>English</i> shepherds	—	—	2	3	2
17. Ditto pitmen	—	—	2	4	0

*Note*, All the above are wheat.

5. <i>Scotch</i> labourers } Oats	—	{	4	7	0
6. <i>Lancashire</i> ditto }		{	3	2	0
17. Pitmen, rye	—	—	2	5	0

#### SECT. XX.

From the several accounts thus placed, however trifling they may seem, there is reason to conclude, that the quantity of corn consumed by the most laborious part of mankind hath been in all places, and at all times, nearly the same, varying only according as the quantity of other food was more or less.

#### SECT. XXI.

And from the said accounts may also be formed some calculation of what the annual quantities of wheat, rye, and oats are on the average which each person consumes in *England*.

And

And first as to wheat : Dr. *Brackenridge's* three bushels is so much below any account we ever found confirmed by facts, that it ought to be left quite out of the question. Our *shepherds* and *pitmen* consume so much above the common rate, that too much regard should not be paid to the accounts of what they eat, though very well attested. Mr. *Maitland's* account is given after so careful an inquiry, that it ought not to be entirely disregarded ; but it is only a calculation founded on opinion ; and it is most probable that both the workhouse account, considering the sort of people maintained there, and the account of the citizens, considering the quantity of other provisions it is most likely their families eat, are below the average of the consumption in *London* : for, besides that they are barely equal to the consumption in the hospitals, it must be supposed that much the greater part of the people do much harder labour, and are not otherwise so well fed.

Dr. *Brackenridge's* account of labourers in the country, which is given from his own observation, agrees so well with the allowance to our soldiers and prisoners, and with the consumption of the farmers and families in the country, which are found, after repeated inquiries, to be just, that it might very reasonably be taken for the average of the consumption of *all* eaters of wheat, more especially when it is remembered how much the greater part of the people



people are in the state of life he mentions, and how much more our *shepherds* and *pitmen* eat.

However, that respect may be paid where it is due, let us suppose the whole number of men, women, and children, who feed on wheat, to be divided in eight parts, and that one part consumes according to Mr. *Maitland's*, another according to the *workhouse*, a third according to the *citizens* account, two others as the Doctor's labourers, and the remaining three parts according to the farmers; and the average will be 1 qr. and something more, as may be seen below \*; but let us call it only the *London* or *Winchester* quarter, which, although it is more than the general estimation, is still rather below our opinion, and not two thirds of the consumption in *France*, even in *Paris*; and it doth not appear, there is sufficient reason to suppose we eat so much less; for our

\* *London* and the Bills are generally esteemed about one tenth of the people; so that if we suppose three eighths to eat below what we have reason to esteem the average there, only two eighths at what appears the general average, and the remaining three eighths the next degree higher, discarding the rest, it seems very moderate.

			qrs.	b.	p.
One <i>Maitland</i>	—	—	0	5	2
One workhouse	—	—	0	6	0
One citizen	—	—	0	7	0
Two labourers	—	—	2	3	0
Three farmers	—	—	3	4	10 $\frac{1}{2}$
			<hr/>		
Total			8	0	2 $\frac{1}{2}$

*shepherds*



*shepherds* and *pitmen* prove themselves equally good bread eaters with the *French labourers* and *porters*.

SECT. XXII.

As to rye, there can be but little difference between that and wheat, and it may be called 1 qr. 1 b.; the *Newcastle* account making it appear not to go quite so far as wheat.

SECT. XXIII.

As to oats, Mr. *Wallace's* account, supposing it 4 qrs. 7 b. of oats, as it approaches that of the greatest eaters both at home and abroad, it tends to strengthen and confirm them; but, as we are afraid we do not fully understand his meaning, we shall content ourselves with the *Lancaster* account, and deduct therefrom 3 b.; calling the average only 2 qrs. 7 b.

SECT. XXIV.

There could not be any certain account of barley obtained, other than that of an old careful man, who hath occasionally fed a large family with barley-bread in dear times, and saith that he always found it as cheap to feed his family with wheat as with barley, unless he could buy the barley at two thirds of the price of wheat. Now the average bushel of barley will weigh barely 49 lb. which is five sixths of the weight of wheat; and if we allow one sixth mote for the deficiency of nourishment in barley than wheat, it agrees with his account, and we should suppose the consumption of barley 1 qr. 4 b.  
per

per head ; but as the family might not like barley-bread so well, or be so careful of it as of wheaten-bread, and there doth not appear so much difference between the other grains, say 1 qr. 3 b.

## SECT. XXV.

Having now done with regard to the quantity of corn consumed in bread, let us consider what quantity is consumed in drink ; and that made into beer appears to have been, on the average, from the account of the produce of the tax on malt made for home consumption for fifty years, beginning with 1703 inclusive, and ending with 1753 exclusive, as follows :

Years.		Average.	
From	To	qrs.	b.
1703	1713	2,959,063	7
1713	1723	3,542,157	2
1723	1733	3,358,071	2
1733	1743	3,215,094	2
1743	1753	3,404,026	1

The general average of which is 3,295,682 qrs. 4 b. which may be called 3,300,000, and still be a very moderate account ; for, by stat. 12 *Ann*, c. 2. § 20. 24 bushels of wet malt is to be taken as 20 b. dry, and we may suppose the duty is sometimes

\* The regularity of the amount of this tax may be taken as arguments that the numbers of the people have continued nearly equal.

evaded, and there can be no doubt but those families who have compounded for the duties found their account in so doing.

## SECT. XXVI.

We are now to consider what quantities of each sort of corn are annually consumed for other uses besides those of making bread and beer: in which we shall be obliged to trust more to conjecture than in the foregoing estimates; and yet it may be hoped, that from what will be said some general idea may be formed of the amounts of the annual consumption, and consequently of the whole growth of the several sorts.

As to wheat, the meal or flour thereof is used by distillers, starch-makers, paper-hangers, stationers, book-binders, linen-printers, and trunk-makers, and probably by some others: it is impossible to say the exact quantity consumed by all or either of these, but the whole annual quantity we estimate at 90,000 qrs. the distillery using barely half that quantity.

As to rye, the meal thereof is used by tanners and to fatten hogs, and many pease and some beans and barley are used for this last purpose.

*Maitland*, fol. 758, says 186,932 hogs are sold annually in *London*, call this one fourth of the consumption; and considering the hogs used for the navy, say 800,000 is the whole consumption of the kingdom; allow these *two* bushels of corn each,

each, the amount is 200,000 qrs. of which say, pease and beans 100,000, barley 70,000, rye 30,000, to which add for tanners and other uses 1000, and the rye, besides for bread, will be 31,000 qrs.

As to barley, say the distillers use 44,000 qrs. besides malt, which is accounted for before; to this add the 70,000 for hogs, and 3000 for fowls, and the barley used, besides for bread and beer, will be 117,000 qrs.

As to oats, the average of the quantities

brought by water, and measured in

*London* in 1752 and 1765, is 290,266

Brought by land not measured annually 20,800

---

311,066

From which must be deducted, being for

double the quantities of 179 qrs. 7 b.

oatmeal exported, and 1513 qrs. of oats

sold *Victualling-office* 3,385

---

Consumed in *London* 307,681

Call the consumption of the kingdom little more than eight-fold, and it will be 2,461,500 of oats annually consumed besides in bread.

No notice hath been taken in the foregoing accounts of beans or pease, a very considerable quantity of each of which is consumed annually both green and in the grain for the food of man, and in the last for the food of beasts; and no inconsiderable quantity of pease are shipped and used for

part of the food of the royal navy and other ships, and of beans for the negro slaves.

It may be supposed that the beans sold annually in *London* for the negroes is 20,000 qrs. that horses eat 10,000, together 30,000; and if this is called a third of the consumption, it will make the whole 90,000.

The pease sold annually in *London* to the Victualing-office for an average of years hath been 4964 qrs.; to private basket-bakers about 3000; the soup is supposed to consume 500, together 8464; call this a fourth, the amount is near 34,000, to which add the 100,000 given to hogs, and the whole will be 134,000 qrs.

The quantity of seeds sold for oil in *London* annually varies very much, but it is supposed it may be set at 15,000, and to be about the sixth of the consumption, which makes the whole 90,000 qrs.

Of the whole quantity of all sorts of corn and grain annually grown, it is supposed that *one tenth* is expended in seed to produce the ensuing crop; some indeed say a larger proportion is used for that purpose with us. And a *French* writer\* says, *one sixth* is applied to that use with them; it should seem it cannot be less than one tenth; if it is more, the export will still be a lesser part of the growth than it seems at present.

The foregoing accounts and estimates are brought

\* *Essai sur les Monnoies*, fol. 19.

together and shewed in every view, that seemed necessary to make them useful, from page 161 to 168, and some short remarks are there made on them, to which we cannot forbear to add, that from them it appears, we depend more *immediately* than most men imagine for our daily bread on Providence, whose gifts are so equally and regularly dealt out, that it very rarely happens, notwithstanding the uncertainty of the seasons, on which the whole in appearance so much depends, that the annual produce of the earth is not equal to the necessary support and wants of man, provided he is not wanting on his part to endeavour to obtain it by a due application to that labour to which he was at first condemned, and from which he never can be dispensed; for let him exert all his skill and abilities to the utmost, it seems impossible for him to obtain so great a surplus \* as to have it in his power to forbear to till the ground, even for one year, but that he must throughout his life subsist by a continual labour and constant dependance on Him who hath promised that seed-time and harvest shall never fail.

\* He must be thirty-four years storing it up in common crops, and more cannot be expected; and besides the time it would take up, many other obstructions, some of which are noted in the foregoing work, tend to render such an attempt abortive.



## CHAPTER VI.

OF THE HOUSES, INHABITANTS, AND CORN  
CONSUMED IN LONDON AND PARIS.

IN the course of the foregoing inquiries, some accounts were met with, which, at first sight, seemed to lead to the stating of a more particular comparison of the numbers of houses and inhabitants, and quantity of corn consumed annually, in *London* and *Paris*, than hath yet appeared.

But a very little application discovered the mistake, and from the judicious remarks made concerning those two cities, by the author of the *Police of France*, part v. fol. 123, it appears probable, that all the comparisons, which will ever be made, will be done with so small a degree of certainty, that they will serve for little more than to amuse, which is all that the reader hath to expect from the contents of this chapter.

The exact number of houses in *London* and the bills of mortality could not be obtained; but in 1758 the whole number in *London*, *Westminster*, *Southwark*, and the whole county of *Middlesex*, was 89,736; and if we suppose the number in the county of *Middlesex* out of the bills equal to that in *Surry*, viz. 14,721, the number in *London* and the bills will be 75,015, and each house must contain eight persons to make the number of inhabitants



tants 600,120 ; *i. e.* one tenth of the people, which they are generally esteemed.

According to the rule laid down by Dr. *Brackenridge*\*, which was founded on observation, of adding 2000 for Dissenters and Jews to the annual bill of mortality, and multiplying by 30, it appears, that the number hath been from the year 1680 to 1760 on the average 766,090 ; *i. e.* above ten to a house.

*Here follow the averages of the bills of mortality for the said time †.*

Years. From	Bills.	Added.	Inhabitants.
1680 to 1700 —	21,566 —	23,566 —	706,980
1700 — 1720 —	22,685 —	24,685 —	740,550
1720 — 1740 —	26,990 —	28,990 —	869,700
1740 — 1760 —	22,905 —	24,905 —	747,150
1680 — 1760 —	23,536½ —	25,536½ —	766,090

We are unable to reconcile these accounts ; but by whatever number the bills are, or should be multiplied, it will appear, if we trust to them, that although the buildings are so much increased, yet the number of people are of late diminished within the

\* Philosophical Transactions, vol. xlix. art. 95.

† *Note*, These averages are taken from the account published by *Corbyn Morris*, Esq. to 1750, and continued down to 1760 in his method.—We now know, from the enumeration of 1801, that there were then, in *London*, including the whole metropolis, 121,229 inhabited houses, and 5185 uninhabited houses, containing 864,845 souls.—EDIT. 1804.

bills of mortality, and that from 1740 to 1760 there was not one eighteenth more than from 1680 to 1700; nor doth the destruction of the human species diminish, but increase; for the births in the first period were as 681 to 1000, in the last only 638, as may be seen by the account.

*An Account of the Proportion of the Births to the Burials in London, &c.*

1680 — 1700 as 681	} to 1000.
1700 — 1720 — 721	
1720 — 1740 — 649	
1740 — 1760 — 638	
1680 — 1760 — 672	

Some idea may be formed how destructive the above difference hath been by the following account of the numbers which have been lost by the deaths exceeding the births, *viz.*

	Per Ann.	Total.
1680 to 1700 —	6,877 —	137,553
1700 — 1720 —	6,317 —	126,353
1720 — 1740 —	9,473 —	189,467
1740 — 1760 —	8,281 —	165,630
1680 — 1760 —	7,737 —	619,003

After the above was wrote, whilst the work was in the press, we have had an opportunity to complete the account for the last five years, ending *Dec.* 1765, and the average is

Deaths.	With Addition.	Inhabitants.
23,993 —	25,993 —	779,79

Births

Births to burials as 664 to 1000.

Loss per annum 8561, in the whole 40,305.

By the best accounts that could be obtained of the corn-trade in *London*, the annual average of the whole quantity measured by the meters for *seventeen* years, ending with 1764, was \*1,200,000 qrs.; and two thirds of that quantity hath been sold in meal, flour, barley, malt, oats, beans and pease, with which the said meters had nothing to do, in the whole 2,000,000 qrs.; of which \*150,386 qrs. 1b. have been exported <sup>1</sup>, and 28,053 qrs. 3 b. have been delivered to the Victualling-office <sup>2</sup>, for the service of the navy. For these a deduction must be made of 356,879 qrs. being double their amounts, by reason they have been measured twice: we must also deduct 70,000 qrs. for half that quantity carried coastways and laid up, which is also measured twice; also 300,000 qrs. for oats, 40,121 qrs. for 20,060 qrs. 4 b. of beans and pease shipped off, 18,000 qrs. for the same eat by horses at home,

* Export.		* Vict. Office.	
5,624	1 Barley	5,098	0 Malt
68	0 Malt	4,964	3 Pease
179	7 Oatmeal	2,109	4 Oatmeal
4,473	1 Rye	1,513	6 Oats
140,041	0 Wheat	14,367	6 Wheat
<hr/>		<hr/>	
*150,386	1	28,053	3
28,053	3	<hr/>	
178,439	4 double is 356,879	0	

and 15,000 qrs. for seeds: all these deductions amount to 800,000 qrs. and leave 1,200,000 qrs. for the support of the inhabitants in bread and beer, and for other uses.

Great as this quantity appears, it seems to be much under-rated, if common report says true, *viz.* that more than half thereof is annually expended in drink.

If the drink consumes 660,000 qrs. it is one *fifth* of all the malt for which duty hath been paid, and the citizens seem to drink more than their share; for they are about one *ninth* of the beer-drinkers, as it is reckoned that there are about nine hundred thousand persons in the cyder counties, *viz.* *Somerset, Gloucester, Worcester, Devon, Monmouth, and Hereford*, and that *full* two thirds of them drink no beer.

But please to remember that all these accounts are founded on conjecture, except those which have an asterisk before them.

In one year, ending *Nov. 8, 1765*, the quantity of oats measured was 316,416 qrs. In one other year, ending *Nov. 8, 1752*, the quantity was 264,117 qrs.; so that the annual increase in the consumption in *thirteen* years is 52,299 qrs. which will maintain 4023 horses, allowing each *two* bushels a week.

This increase in the consumption of oats in *London* is wholly attributed to the greater number of horses kept now than heretofore; and one principal cause

cause for their being kept, is the great improvements made in the roads; and as those improvements are now become almost general throughout the kingdom, we may suppose the additional number in the whole at least *eight-fold* that in *London*; and then, can it be made a query, whether the land employed to grow food for the said horses is not one means of raising the price of black cattle?

That the number of horses hath increased in *London* as above, is highly probable, for all the oats in 1765, at the same rate of allowance, after deducting 46,416 for other purposes, will support only 20,000; and all the oats in 1752, after deducting 43,117, would support but 17,000; so that the increase is only from seventeen to twenty, *i. e.* not from four to five\*.

The

\* The following statement is an accurate extract of the price of the quartern loaf, wheaten bread, at the commencement and conclusion of the several mayoralties herein stated, from the year 1735 to the year 1800, as entered at the Town Clerk's office, Guildhall.

The price at the commencement of each mayorality shews the price at the conclusion of the preceding mayorality.

Dates.	Mayorality.	Price of	Dates.	Mayorality.	Price of
		Qu. Lo. Wh. Br. d.			Qu. Lo. Wh. Br. d.
Nov. 9.			Nov. 9.		
1735	Williams	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1741	Godshall	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
1736	Thompson	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1742	Wilmott	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1737	Barnard	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	1743	Westley †	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1738	Perry	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	1744	Marshall	4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1739	Salter	6	1745	Hoare	4 $\frac{3}{4}$
1740	Parsons	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	1746	Benn	5 $\frac{1}{2}$
					1747

The houses in *Paris* 1736 were 28,571. But the author of the *Police*, page 125, says, “ that the *French* authors have calculated the number differently, some at 30,000, others at 28,000; and therefore he takes the difference; and putting down 29,000, and allowing, as the *French* authors

Dates.	Mayoralty.	Price of		Dates.	Mayoralty.	Price of	
		Qua.	Lo.			Qua.	Lo.
Nov. 9.		Wh.	Br.	Nov. 9.		Wh.	Br.
		d.				d.	
1747	Ladbroke	5		1774	Wilkes	8	
1748	Calvert	6		1775	Sawbridge	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1749	Pennant	5 $\frac{1}{4}$		1776	Hallifax	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1750	Cockayne	5 $\frac{1}{4}$		1777	Esdaile	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1751	Winterbottom	6		1778	Plumbe	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1752	Gascoyne	5 $\frac{1}{2}$		1779	Kenet	5 $\frac{3}{4}$	
1753	Ironside	6		1780	Lewes	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1754	Janssen	5		1781	Plomer	7	
1755	Bethell	5		1782	Newnham	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1756	Dickinson †	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1783	Peckham	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1757	Asgill	7 $\frac{1}{4}$		1784	Clarke	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1758	Glyn	6		1785	Wright	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1759	Chitty	5		1786	Sainsbury	6	
1760	Blackiston	5 $\frac{1}{2}$		1787	Burnell	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1761	Fludyer	4 $\frac{1}{2}$		1788	Gill	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1762	Beckford	5 $\frac{1}{2}$		1789	Pickett	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1763	Bridgen	6		1790	Boydell	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1764	Stephenson	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		1791	Hopkins	6 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1765	Nelson	7		1792	Sanderson	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1766	Kite	8		1793	Le Mesurier	7 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1767	Harley	8 $\frac{1}{4}$		1794	Skinner	7 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1768	Turner	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		1795	Curtis †	12 $\frac{1}{4}$	
1769	Beckford	6		1796	Watson	8 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1770	Crosby	6 $\frac{1}{2}$		1797	Anderson	9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
1771	Nash	7 $\frac{1}{4}$		1798	Glyn	8	
1772	Townshend	8		1799	Combe	13	
1773	Bull	7 $\frac{1}{2}$		1800	—	—	

† Westley, 1743, bread two weeks at 4d. quartern loaf in this mayoralty. Dickinson, 1756, bread four weeks at 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ d. quartern loaf in this mayoralty. Curtis, 1795, five weeks at 11. 3d. the quartern loaf in this mayoralty, the penny loaf weighing 4oz. 10dr. And Staines, 1800, four weeks at 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ .

pretend,

pretend, 20 persons to each house, the number of people would be 580,000;" but he observes, page 129, the bills of mortality there are less extensive than those at *London*; and observes further, page 131, that the boundaries of the circumference of the city have not been enlarged since 1724, the date of the last edict, which circumscribed the extent of those boundaries: with liberty, nevertheless, of enlarging the buildings contained therein.

And we are well informed, that several large houses have since that time been destroyed, and in their stead, and in vacant places, many smaller houses have been built.

*The average of the corn consumed in Paris in the years 1729 and 1730, in French and English measure, was as under.*

	French Measure.			English Measure.		
	muids.	set.	boiseau.	qrs.	h.	
Wheat and rye	81,241	10	4 —	528,072	1	
Oats —	17,283	7	0 —	112,343	2	
Barley —	2,699	4	6 —	17,545	6	
	<hr/>			<hr/>		
	101,224	9	10 —	657,961	1	
	<hr/>			<hr/>		

*Note,* The muid is *twelve* setiers, each *twelve* bushels of all corn, except oats; and there the setier is divided into twenty-four bushels, but two of these bushels are no more than one of the first \*. The muid, as well as the setier, being the same in

\* See Police, page 101.



all, and as the setier is 4 b.  $1\frac{1}{2}$  p. *London* measure, the muid contains exactly 6 qrs. 4 b. *London* measure.

My author says, that allowing a muid, *i.e.* 6 qrs. 4 b. of oats to keep a horse a year, there would not be found full 17,300 in *Paris* in 1729: it is to be observed, that, allowing double that quantity, the horses in *London* in 1752 were 17,000, and in the year 1765 were increased to 20,000.

Such of these accounts as relate to *France* which are not noted to be taken from the author of the *Police*, may be found in the *Essai sur les Monnoies*, from page 50 to 61, &c.; which work contains many entertaining and useful conjectures.

We could have wished to have been more particular, but it was not in our power.

---

## CHAPTER VII.

### OF THE STATE OF THE CORN-TRADE IN FRANCE.

THE author of *Gazette du Commerce*, in his papers of the 22d and 27th of *September* 1764, No. 76 and 77, hath inserted the following speech made by Mr. De Caradenc de la Chalotais, Procureur General, to the parliament of *Brittany*, on the 20th of *August* preceding; when he carried into court the Edict of the month of *July* 1764, a translation of which we have given page 186, requiring it to be registered.

What

What the general state of the corn-trade hath been in *France* for more than a century preceding that Edict may be seen from the said Speech, the purport whereof is as follows :

GENTLEMEN,

I have the honour to inform you of the most signal benefit with which his Majesty can gratify his people, a liberty to trade in corn.

After having permitted the free circulation in the interior part of the kingdom, by his Declaration of the 25th of *May* 1763, the King grants by this Edict, which I bring into court, the entire liberty of exportation and importation. He permits all his subjects to trade in all sorts of corn, grain, pulse, flour, &c. either with natural-born subjects or strangers.

You may understand this Edict, Gentlemen, as a presage of the increase and improvement of agriculture, which will infallibly be the source of the re-establishment and prosperity of the kingdom.

In short, thanks to his Majesty, and the Minister who manages his finances, the system of prohibition seems to be abandoned for ever : a fatal system, which forbids the subjects of the same sovereign to lend each other mutual assistance, and cuts off between *France* and other nations that communication of exchanging superfluities for necessities, which is so conformable to the order of Divine Providence. Particular permissions, that useless resource, which enriched a few private per-

sons at the expense of the nation, will not for the future discourage the farmer. We shall no more be in fear of want, nor, which is almost as much to be dreaded, the too great abundance of crops. We shall no more fear, above all, excessive variations in the price of corn, equally hurtful with scarcity itself. In short, we may hope for *an equitable plan of taxations*, founded upon true and simple principles, the cultivation of the lands, and the augmentation of the riches of the state \*.

I shall

\* "From hence," says the ingenious author of *The Laws and Police of England examined*, &c. printed for T. Harrison, 1765, "we may conceive, that the proposals lately offered for promoting agriculture in *France*, are not likely ever to be carried into execution, whilst the intendants have a power to raise the *taille réelle*, or land-tax, from time to time according to the improved culture of their ground: whereas the land-tax in *England*, though in some respects an unequal rate, yet being fixed on the original registered value, the quota payable by each county remains equally the same, notwithstanding the several districts may be improved to yield a larger share of productions, and which indeed, without such a sanction and protection, would not receive *any* improvement at all." Page 32. And the same author, at page 57, after having referred to, and explained what is here said, goes on: "Although ordonnances have been lately published for allowing a free export of corn, in some districts, and at some certain seasons, yet how vain are all such local and temporary expedients, whilst the nature of their constitution will not admit of that general freedom of sale, which I have so often laid down as most essential and necessary for promoting the interest of every trade both at home and abroad!" He then explains the benefits we have received from the corn exported.

What

I shall not stand, Gentlemen, to prove truths at present too well known, and carried to the highest degree of demonstration by so many solid works, which are the produce of the knowledge of zealous and well-informed citizens.

Who is unacquainted, that it is the earth only giveth riches, because it only produceth and reproduceth annually a new stock? That the sale of merchandise is the only means to cause a circulation of money, which is only the representation of the more real riches, the fruits of the earth? That a state rich in productions, which it can sell, will, necessarily, be rich in money? but let its merchandise fail, or find no sales, it feels infallibly the want of circulation of specie, and falls into a languor which, in its effects, is equally bad as poverty. It is therefore certain, that the most useful of all political laws is that which gives the greatest facility to the sale of the productions of the earth. The necessities for consumption, taxes, even the trade of the nation, all take their rise from the sale of merchandise; therefore we cannot extend this source too much, nor be too careful how we straiten it; if it should be dried up, the evils of the state would be without remedy and without bounds.

I shall confine myself, Gentlemen, to a few

What this intelligent author hath advanced, and *Mr. Chalotais* hath thrown out, may serve to abate our fears of the effects of those Edicts, but should by no means put us off our guard.

slight

slight observations on the necessity of the exportation of the principal merchandise (corn); they may appear unnecessary, since his Majesty hath established its truth in a perpetual and irrevocable Edict, an Edict conformable to the prayers of the nation which obtained it, to that of the states of this province\*, to experience which is the instructor of man, to the sentiments of HENRY THE GREAT and the illustrious SULLY, to the opinion of all those who have examined this question without prejudice and without interest; an examination in regard to which no one hath hitherto presumed publicly to contradict, either the reasons, the facts, or the calculations†. But it is requisite to encourage the timorous, to instruct those who are not as yet fully informed, to remove all mistrust from the people. We have no reason to fear when we are laying down maxims which promise the good of the state.

Is there any necessity by a long chain of reasoning to prove, that to prevent the sale of corn is to prohibit the cultivation? that such prohibition hath made the profession of a farmer in *France*‡, although the most necessary, the most unhappy of all the professions in the state? That a free trade

\* Deliberations of the 1 *Feb.* 1759, 15 *Sept.* 1760, and 7 *Sept.* 1761.

† This seems to refer to the French pamphlets quoted page 194.

‡ In *France*.—These words are here, and in many other places, inserted to keep the reader in mind that what is said relates to *France*.

in grain both within and without the kingdom, is the sole and only means to put the farmer and land-owners in a condition to support public and private expenses.

Let us not fear to descend to particulars: experience is the foundation of all physical inquiry; calculation is the measure. We arrive at general maxims only by the knowledge of particular facts.

The necessary expenses of every cultivation whatsoever are the seed, the ploughing, the manure, the expenses to harvest, to lay up, and to preserve the crop. It is necessary that the farmer make interest of the money advanced, wherewith to subsist himself and family, pay tithes, taxes, and his landlord, whose expenses ascertain the payment of the other classes of the state, who being composed of neither land-owners nor farmers, live at the expense of those who are.

The earth doth not produce every year the best of grain. It must have years of rest; it is necessary to take into consideration good and bad years, and place to the account unforeseen accidents, for they will not be wanting.

Now, in calculating these expenses at the lowest rate possible, it appears that the setier of wheat is barely worth to the farmer that which it cost him; men well skilled in agriculture have made the calculation, and desire all land-owners to make it themselves: it is a work which relates to all men, and in which all professions are interested. The



neat produce of the cultivation of the earth is the only source of the prosperity of a farming state : to know exactly what an acre of land well cultivated will produce, in different kinds of merchandise, according to the difference of the soils, is the fundamental problem of agriculture, commerce, and finances.

If the farmer doth not gain all his expenses, and wherewith to satisfy all charges, the earth will remain untilld, as more than the moiety in this province doth ; the starving proprietor will be forced to sustain losses and bankruptcies ; the farmer, ruined, badly clothed, and badly fed, will sell his little property ; he will take up with his indigent family the art of begging, too common, and which is a disgrace to the nation ; the state itself will suffer ; the taxes will not be collected but with extreme difficulty, and with the greatest rigour ; and it must be acknowledged, that this hath been the state of the kingdom of *France* for more than an age : in every province the earth shews, in an infinity of places, the marks and vestiges of a deserted cultivation : houses unroofed proclaim a desertion and depopulation : the cities, and even the capital, are peopled with poor ; whilst those who have ruined so many families and enriched themselves with their spoils, make parade of a luxury which is an insult on public misery.

There is moreover another principle which manifestly proves the price of corn in *France* is too low,



low, and that the farmers are far from being in a happy situation.

The price of corn ought to be in proportion to the value of every merchandise, and every kind of labour, which, after deducting the value of the material, ought to cost more or less according to what is paid per day to the workman.

It is manifest, that for about an age past the price of labour and merchandise is considerably raised in *France*. There is none that for fifty years past hath not experienced this.

The price of corn, which is the measure of the whole, should then have risen in proportion; in the mean time, it hath not only not increased, but it is a certain fact, that it hath fallen considerably, and that it would require an age ago, a greater weight of silver to pay for a setier, than it doth at present.

In 1649, the deputy of Mr. —, the Procureur General at the *Chatelet*, said in his requisition of the 6th of *March* to the police, as a known fact, that wheat was at 15 livres the setier, a moderate price (these are his words); but the same setier hath this present year, 1764, been in *Paris* at 14 livres, and 14 livres 10 sous. It was of less value in the neighbouring cantons, and of necessity in the country.

It appears by the account of prices kept at *Paris*, that it was worth 18 livres 18 sous in 1649; 26 livres 10 sous 5 deniers in 1650; 25 livres 13

sous in 1651; and 24 livres 18 sous in 1652—then the price of wheat hath diminished very much since 1649, that is, within 115 years; and it cannot be denied, that other workmanship and merchandise, wages, &c. have greatly increased.

What shall we think, Gentlemen, of so great a difference, when we reflect that the *mark* of silver was in 1649 at 28 livres 13 sous 8 deniers, that is to say, at almost half less than at this day, *viz.* (from 1726) at 54 livres 6 sous?

The value of the setier of wheat (in money at present in use) was during these five years on the average price, at 42 livres 2 sous; these prices are calculated in *The Essay on Moneys*, and in the treatise *Of the Police of Corn*. Ought one to be surprised, after these examples, that his Majesty hath fixed the limits of the exportation at 30 livres the setier, weighing 240 pounds?

It is then proved true to a demonstration, that corn is in *France* at too low a price, in proportion to the advances, to the charges and expenses of the farmer; in proportion to other works and merchandise; and consequently to both public and private expenses.

But to enable the grower to receive back his charges and expenses, that he may support and pay all taxes, it is not sufficient even that corn should be of a certain value; it is necessary that value should be regular, the least subject as possible to variations: if he is not certain of selling, and

and of selling every year for profit, this uncertainty deprives him of all security, and he loses the courage to till.

Now, this was impossible under a system of prohibitions, under a system of temporary and particular permissions, often granted from interest to importunity, scarcely ever free from suspicions.

A state, whose agriculture is under the direction of prohibitive laws, can never cultivate but for its own necessary use; it can never by good, make compensation for bad years; for such a state is poor, when it hath a superfluity of grain, and it is poor when it hath too little: the superabundance produceth stagnation, and the failure produceth want: one brings with it a vile price, and the other excessive dearth.

These variations, the alternative of liberty and prohibitions, left the farmer in fear, and could not fail to discourage him, because he was obliged to sell at any price whatsoever, to satisfy his annual advance. There is nothing but the constant keeping the ports open, and a free exportation of grain, that can remedy these inconveniences. In time of great plenty that freedom will support cultivation, because the certainty of sales either within the kingdom, or to foreigners, will make both the landlord and farmer contentedly to see their riches lie idle in their magazines. This confidence will make them easy, and prevent in unfruitful years the terrors of want, which often

causes real want. The disadvantage of expenses in bad years will be made up by advantageous sales in those which are good. The poor will find himself comforted by the abundant consumption of the rich, and by the circulation. He cannot live, if the rich doth not furnish him with the means of subsistence, and the latter cannot furnish the former therewith, if he doth not draw from the earth sufficient to pay those recompenses and wages which are the reward of labour.

But that which ought to remove entirely all his fears of want, is that constant uniformity of the price of corn, which exportation will necessarily produce. The principal end of a free exportation is not so much to sell, as to support the merchandise at the best price possible, to restore that equilibrium which is supported naturally in the commerce of other merchandise.

The common price of wheat through EUROPE varies but little; it is notorious, that it is never below eighteen livres the setier\* (that is, twenty-four, the charge of RENNES), and that it scarcely ever rises above twenty-two; therefore the average price is twenty livres †.

For

\* By the *setier* in this place is to be understood the measure, not that of 240 lb. mentioned before page 244, for that is the weight of the setier of the *best* wheat, and much exceeds the average; the weight of the setier from 1418 to 1700 played between 205 lb and 244 lb. See *Essai sur les Monnoies*, folio 49.

† Equal to 33s. 6½d. the London quarter. Now it appears, page 132, that the average price of wheat for the last 79 years hath been

For an age past *France* hath not, as before that time, had any share in the general market price of *Europe*, which is the highest price possible; and it is a notorious fact that the value of corn in *France* hath almost always been since the prohibitions below the general market price. By what fatality should we obstinately persist in keeping our merchandise below the current price between nations, to lose continually by all we buy of, and all we sell to foreigners? We in 1748, 1749, and 1750, felt this by sorrowful experience. From the time we unfortunately forbade the exportation, our neighbours had encouraged and rewarded the exportation of corn. They tilled with emulation, their fields were covered with harvests; and in those years of want, we, who formerly used to sell them wheat, were obliged to pay them the tribute of that

been 35*s.* 2½*d.* at *Windsor*, that is, 4*d.* below the general market of *Europe*; whereas before for 91 years it was 38*s.* 0½*d.* that is, 4*s.* 6*d.* above the said general price. And that these *Windsor* prices are more to be depended on than could at first be known, is proved not only by the said average price of *Europe*, but also by the average price at *London* from 1740 to 1764, being found on inquiry to have been only sixpence per quarter less—and by the average of all the wheat bought at the Victualling-offices at *London*, *Dover*, *Portsmouth*, and *Plymouth*, for the last 20 years, ending *Feb.* 18th, 1765, as appears by an account laid before Parliament, being only 32*s.* 6½*d.* that is, 10*d.* above the *Windsor* price for the same time; and this last sum will amount to about 2½ discount on the bills; but we cannot well call it less than 5 per cent.; and then it will be found to have been sixpence below the *Windsor*, and to agree with the *London* price.

encouragement which they gave their fellow-citizens. In those three years the *English* received from *France* 10,465,000 livres.

The consequences of this bad administration are, first, that *France* dare not cultivate more than her own wants require; and not being able ever to elevate her views above what is barely necessary, she must infallibly often fall below, and consequently remain exposed to all the accidents of bad seasons and short crops.

Secondly, that she can never make her corn an object of commerce.

Thirdly, that she generally loses, although she may sometimes gain.

In short, that her agriculture must continually remain in a declining state, whilst that of her neighbours becomes daily more flourishing.

*France*, if well cultivated, can never dread the superiority of other nations in any thing; and she would have been but too happy, if by prohibitive regulations she had not herself shut the door against the labour and industry of her own inhabitants. The time will come possibly, when every nation, reduced to the exportation of its own growth, will be of value only in proportion to its extent, the fertility of its soil, and its situation. *France*, in all these respects, hath the greatest advantages: she produceth corn equal to the most fertile countries, frequently for a year and half, sometimes for two years, and yet is always in fear of want. There is  
no

no cause to fear that in scarce years, which is the same as to say dear years, corn should be exported for sale in places where it is in plenty, and at a lower price: there is no foundation for such fear only in the case when all *Europe* shall be afflicted with want. The facility of a free trade is a remedy as well for *scarcity*, as for the *too great plenty* of merchandise, which is naturally carried where it is most wanted.

The liberty of exportation is about to remove those barriers that laid a restraint, which attacks the foundations of society. The people will be no longer forbid to enjoy the fruits of their labour, corn will no longer in *France* be a merchandise prohibited or contraband. We may give ourselves up to the flattering hopes of seeing plenty revive; and, by a necessary consequence, a flourishing trade, which always follows plenty of merchandise.

Is it necessary to say more, Gentlemen, to establish confidence and tranquillity? When we are furnished with true principles we need never fear; but we shall draw just conclusions.—

Objects of so great an extent, which tend to increase the revenues of the King and the nation, are not confined, as appears, to furnishing bread for the markets; that supply, although essential, is only one branch of national economy, of which the corn-trade is the agent and general spring; inasmuch as it impresses the motion of buying and selling on all the rest: nevertheless, as this is one  
of



of the most important points of the legislation, and that which strikes most forcibly on the mind of the people, it is right to make them easy in regard thereto, and to prevent their fears. There ought to be a constant proportion between the price of corn and that of bread; there are several cities in this province where there is not, at least where it is not either enough known or exactly observed\*.

A public regulation, or table, is wanting, which should express what the value of bread ought to be in proportion to that of the setier of corn; and I am preparing to lay such a table before you.

It remains to speak to you, Gentlemen, of the restrictions laid by the Edict on the free exportation. We could have wished, that the liberty had been entire and indefinite in all the ports, that there were no limitation to restrain that liberty, that the exportation were exempt from all duties; because freedom only can extend and support the sale of any merchandise, and promote the consumption; seeing that the least obstruction stops the course; because the least duty on buying or selling (for they are both the same) is an imposition which dries up the source, because, in fine, the augmentation of the expenses of transportation causeth the nation to lose considerable revenues, and necessarily destroys its competition with other nations.

\* Some lines relating to this matter are here, and in the following page, omitted, as being only local.

But I do not mean to consider those restrictions, nor yet those duties, contained in the Edict, as matters of revenue: the Edict bears too much the marks of the King's beneficence and love for his people. Convinced of the truth of those principles, which are there established with such force and dignity, he hath paid some attention to popular fears, which, though with little foundation, are natural to indigence. He perhaps thought prejudices, which had taken root by long use, ought rather to be destroyed by experience than authority.

It is then concurring with those views to make representations to him in this respect, which are for the good of the state.

To remove all uneasiness from those who are not as yet fully convinced of the advantages which such a freedom of trade must produce, his Majesty hath thought proper to fix a price, above which all exportation out of the kingdom shall be prohibited.

It is fixed at 12 livres 10 sous the quintal, by the sixth article of the Edict; and it is there ordered, that when that price shall be kept up in the same place for three following market-days, the liberty shall remain suspended in such place; and to restore it, application must be made to the Minister of the Finances. There is no inconvenience in fixing 12 livres 10 sous, as we have seen by the average price of corn in the general market of *Europe*; but have we not reason to fear, that some covetous persons may, by some private practices, raise the price

price of corn for a few days, to the end that the port may be shut, and they take advantage of the fall in the price, which will necessarily follow the prohibition? It would appear then right, to prevent monopoly, that the export being absolutely prohibited, when the price shall be kept up at 30 livres the setier, or, that which is the same thing, at 12 livres 10 sous the quintal, during three following markets; it should be also restored absolutely when during three markets the price of the setier shall be below?

It appears that in limiting the number of ports, a view was had to the advantage of having regular accounts of the importation and exportation: but give me leave to remark, on the other hand, that this regulation confines the good intentions of his Majesty, and is even contrary to the spirit of the Edict; for the principles which are there established are true throughout, or not at all. To fix a certain number of ports is to favour a small part of the subjects at the expense of the rest, and to prejudice the greatest part. It would appear more natural, that exportation should be permitted without distinction from all ports, at least from all those where there are commissaries capable to keep a register of exports and imports. We may venture to affirm, moreover, that the number of twenty-seven ports throughout all *France* is too inconsiderable; that six ports for *Britanny* are not sufficient:

sufficient : the fourth article hath fixed eight for *Normandy*, whose coasts are not so extensive.

From *St. Malo's* \* to *Morlaix* there are forty or fifty leagues of coast, where no ports are appointed, in which are comprehended the bishoprics of *St. Mlo*, *St. Brieux*, and *Treguier*, countries which are as fruitful in corn as any other part of the province. There we find the ports of *Leguay*, or *St. Brieux*, *Binic*, *Pontrieux*, *Treguier*, and *Lannion*. From *Morlaix* to *Brest*, eighteen or twenty leagues of coast, in which no port is mentioned. From *Brest* to *Port Louis*, twenty-five or thirty leagues of coast, where might have been mentioned *Audierne*, *Quimper*, *Pont l'Abbé*, *Pont d'Avoine*, *Concarneau*, &c. from whence much grain is brought. Also *Hennibonne* and *Auray* between *Port Louis* and *Vannes*; *Croisic*, *Rebon*, &c. between *Vannes* and *Nantes*. All these places are fruitful in corn; and if there is no other view but to have entries, there are in all these ports, even the smallest, commissaries of the ports and harbours, commissaries on duty, or controllers, who may take the entries and duties, keep a register of the importations and exportations.

If it is said, that from these ports the merchant may transport to those which are mentioned; besides that it is a considerable increase of charges, the risk of the vessels, and of necessity a diminution of

\* Such readers as are acquainted with the coast of *France* will best understand the force of what is here advanced.

the value of the merchandise ; it will be a subject of chicanery and disputes on the part of the commissaries, in regard to the quantity of corn, grain, &c. for the discharge of the security, and consequently an embarrassment to the trade. Ought it to be necessary, for example, from *Paimbœuf*, which is at the mouth of the *Loire*, to go up that river as far as *Nantes*, to make an entry ? or will the commissary at *Nantes* be contented with that which shall have been made at *Paimbœuf* ?

I add, that a liberty to go from every port would favour the *French* navigation, which is one of the objects which his Majesty had in view ; for from thence would arise an increase of navigation from place to place, and port to port. It is well known, that the coasting trade is the school in which the best mariners are bred.

It is true, that, in order to encourage this navigation, the Edict secures to *French* vessels and mariners, exclusively of all others, the transportation of grain : but to make a profit of this privilege, we have perhaps neither vessels nor sailors enough. No one is ignorant that the price of freight in *France* is more considerable than with many other nations ; it is therefore thought, it would be proper to beseech his Majesty to give permission to make use of all vessels without distinction, at least for two or three years.

As to the duties which are established by the seventh article of the Edict, although they have no

other view than to obtain an exact account of the corn which shall be brought into the kingdom, and that shall be carried out, the difference of one per cent. in the duty of entry upon wheat, and of three per cent. on rye, and other inferior grain, may appear extraordinary, inasmuch as in short years, when only importation can take place, this difference would turn to the disadvantage of the poor, who for the most part live *only* on rye. In short, the emolument which can arise from all these duties is so inconsiderable for the finances of his Majesty, and the damage which ariseth to his subjects is so great, by the immense diminution of the whole price of the corn of the kingdom, that we are persuaded his Majesty would be pleased to suppress them ; or, at least, moderate them, and order that they shall not be ever increased upon any pretence whatsoever.

I thought, Gentlemen, these representations necessary : they have no other end but to accomplish the views of his Majesty, and those tend only to favour our competition with other nations in the corn-trade : but we ought not to flatter ourselves to succeed soon, whilst the duties, though moderate, the fetters with which we bind trade, and the scantiness of tillage, shall continue to discourage, and our neighbours shall give encouragement to export.

---

So far Mr. *Chalotais*. What he says \* of the general average price of wheat throughout EUROPE

\* Page 246.



appears to be founded on fact; and his observation \*, that except in case of general want throughout all EUROPE, there is no danger of too large a quantity of corn being exported, when at a high price, is very just; it can happen in that case only, and scarcely then: for as it must be supposed that every place will feel in some measure the general want, and corn cannot be very cheap any where; every nation will at such times be too much on its guard to be drained of the corn necessary for the subsistence of the people; and the very orders which will be received, as they will chiefly be commissions for *supply*, and consequently without limitation of price, will directly raise the market, and immediately give the alarm: however, it is a very proper argument to quiet the minds of the people. And the author of *Reflexions sur la Police des Grains en France, et en Angleterre* †, in order to convince them that so much corn cannot be exported from *France* as to be hurtful, whilst other nations have so much to spare, gives § the annual average of the exports from *Europe*, as follows: *viz.*

	Setiers.
<i>England</i> for 25 years average	1,020,000
<i>Poland, Dantzick, the North, and Holland</i>	7,350,000
<i>Sicily, Barbary, and Archipelago</i>	1,630,000
	<hr/>
Total	10,000,000
	<hr/>

That

\* Page 248, 249.

† At *Paris*, 1764.

§ Page 49.

|| That is, 552,500 quarters. This exceeds the general average,  
and



That is, about 5,417,000 quarters *London* measure. And if the growth of *France*, as he says \*, exclusive of the seed, which the *French* authors set at about one sixth thereof, is 35,000,000 of setiers, or 18,958,333 *London* quarters, besides seed, what reason can the *French* have to fear that too great a quantity will be exported by *them*, when the exports of all *Europe* do not amount to one third of their own growth? And as our growth, besides seed, appears † to be two thirds of theirs, our fears seem much worse founded, at least in common cases, and when the want is not general throughout all *Europe* ‡; since the number of our people in *England* is never estimated at half the number of those in *France*.

and falls short of that of the last 39 years; but it is near enough for general argument.

Average of the last 39 years	Qrs. 598,448
General average — —	487,411
See before, page 139.	
* Page 48.	† Page 166.
	‡ See page 256.

## CHAPTER VIII.

REMARKS AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE  
FOREGOING COLLECTION.

THE author of the foregoing Collection thinks himself bound to acknowledge the many obligations he is under for the several remarks and observations he hath received relative thereto; the most material of which came after this edition was near printed off, and consequently too late to be noted therein. The purport of them is, *viz.*

1. That the calculations are different in different parts thereof: let the reader please to esteem the papers as distinct works, wrote at different times, and take which he likes best.

2. That supposing certain OTHER general principles, OTHER conclusions may be drawn: the principles here argued from are founded on facts, which seem well established; therefore they are not affected by OTHERS.

3. That many of the arguments will not hold good in *all* places: these are meant only as *general* arguments for the whole kingdom.

4. That the hint thrown out \*, *that some are of opinion, that if oats were to be charged 5s. 10d. till*

\* Page 110.

18s. is wrong, and no good reason appears why they should not be imported at the present low duty; as the practice is of very great benefit in places where poor people consume oats in bread. And there seems much more need to give some *public* encouragement for the increasing the growth of oats at home, by a bounty on that grain when exported, or by a premium for the cultivation of waste or heathy lands in oats, than to alter the old salutary practice.

Further, it will be found, when examined into, that though wheat and barley bear a much higher price in proportion than oats just now, yet this last article has been advancing more steadily for a number of years last past; and the growth seems more and more unequal to the consumption; and if the Legislature doth not give some encouragement to this grain, it seems probable there must be an importation of it in some parts of the kingdom or other every year.

5. That the arguments for continuing the same bounties, and payable to the same prices, are not to be withstood: how then comes it that it is said †, “that without any great risk we might either continue the same bounties, but payable to lesser prices, say wheat to 40s. and the rest in proportion; or reduce them, say one third, and continue to pay them

† Page 118.

to the same prices as at present ?” For though experience teaches us, that but a small quantity of wheat is ever exported when it exceeds 40s. even with the bounty, and without it there would most probably be none, so that it might have no great influence on the market ; yet it never can be urged as a sufficient reason for making an alteration in this respect *merely* because no hurt can ensue : it cannot be supposed *any* Legislators will pass an act but with a manifest view of doing good ; and not when the effects may or can be only nugatory, and can do harm.

6. That the making a comparison of the prices of corn since, with those before the bounty \*, is going too far back ; we should not go further than forty years back, as there is a necessity that the manufacturer should always have bread cheap, in order to enable him to underwork other nations, and because within forty years he hath been loaded with many *new* taxes.

The matter under consideration is to inquire, *if the bounty hath done any good* : now how can this be known, but by comparing the prices of corn before and after it took place ?

As to the necessity that the manufacturer should always have bread cheap, to enable him to underwork other nations, and because within forty years he hath

\* Page 132.

been loaded with many *new* taxes; it is notorious that the farmer and land-owner bear a full proportion of those *very* taxes, which were imposed, not to promote and protect agriculture, so far as it regards the growth of corn at least, but to promote and protect the sale of our manufactures abroad; in order to obtain which, no reasonable expenses ought to be spared.

And yet wheat, when the prices thereof are compared either with those of other nations, or with what our forefathers gave for it in the last century, although money was then as dear again, will be found to have been cheap during that period.

What is there but corn, and the labour of the manufacturer thereof, if the labourers in the field may be so called, that hath not considerably risen in value within forty years? Have the wages of the husbandman been raised in proportion with those given to other workmen? he cannot with the labour of four days support himself and family a week.

Is it any reason, because *all* other things are grown dearer, that corn, which *only* hath continued moderate, should be further reduced?

Perhaps it may not be possible to grow corn much cheaper than it was on the average from 1726 to 1765; and yet there seems no doubt, that, if it can be done, it must be effected by continuing to give all proper encouragement to tillage, and promoting a due circulation in the corn-trade: at least we may be assured, that, with years of common plenty, under such

regulations it will not be dearer, and be one great means of supporting the necessary expenses of the nation, and without increasing, at least in any great degree, the salary of the husbandman.

7. That the stating the average of all the years \* is wrong : the dear years should have been left out ; and then it would not appear that wheat hath been so much cheaper on the average since the bounty took place.

This deserves a particular answer.

It must be acknowledged, that, had these averages been struck with a view to point out, that the price of wheat hath been so low that the plough is forsaken, and the country left desolate, as in *France* ; the dear prices should have been left out here, as the French authors have done with great propriety † ; for the farmers reap very little, or rather no advantage from such dear years, as the shortness of the crop does generally more than counterbalance the advance of price.

But the people pay those high prices, although foreigners only gain thereby, and not the farmer ; and it is not what the farmers gain, but what the people pay, is the matter under consideration : and that before the bounty, they paid more than they have done since, is an undoubted fact ; and yet our farmers are

\* Page 132.

† See *Essai sur la Police generale des Grains*, at *Berlin*, 1755, page 243, &c.

far from those distressed circumstances as the *French* farmers are said to be in, although they received on the average 19 *livres* a *setier*, *i. e.* about 31*s.* 10*d.* a *London* quarter, from 1725 to 1745 \*; whereas our own farmers received, during the same time, only 29*s.* 10*d.*

Therefore the striking those years out by the *French* authors is right, and the leaving them in here is not wrong; and let it be noted, how often such dear years came round before the bounty, to what they have done since, and to what height the prices sometimes rose.

The *French* find their farmers cannot live by the present prices, and argue for an export to raise them: we find our farmers thrive at the present prices, although lower than with them; and finding that they have fallen since the export took place, therefore we argue for the continuation thereof, as not only the most likely, but also the most certain means to keep them down: for it is inconsistent to think, that those who live in an exporting country should pay more for their corn than those who live in an importing country: was any ever known to buy at a high price, to sell at a lower?

8. That the value of the gains and savings which have been made by the export, are much undervalued †; particularly, that there hath been corn to the value of 100,000*l.* or 120,000*l.* every year since

\* See *Police des Grains*, 255.

† Page 159.



the UNION carried to SCOTLAND, where it was prohibited before ; which should be added to the accounts, as should also the oats and pease exported on foreign vessels to the account of growth ; but the accounts of these exports were never made up.

That the number of people, the quantity used for seed \*, and the quantities of pease and beans are much under-rated : and consequently, by not bringing them into the account ‡, that the annual growth is estimated much too low ; therefore the export hath not borne so high a proportion to the growth as is calculated ; and this confirms that it bears but a very little proportion to a *small* failure in the crop §.

10. That many people in *Wales* eat oat-bread, whereas it is supposed, there is none eat there. Whether they eat oat-bread, or that made of any other grain, is immaterial ; the *whole* growth will be nearly the same.

11. That estimating the whole number of horses || eight-fold those in *London*, is rating them too high ; and that supposing ¶ two quarters of oats to make one quarter of oatmeal is wrong—it will take two quarters three bushels ; *therefore* the oats used for

\* That one ninth for *England* would be nearer, for that in some parts a sixth is used ; and if the proportion was to be reckoned for *Scotland*, one fifth of the growth will be found upon an *average* of the different grains and years to be *under* the quantity that is used for seed, wheat included.

‡ Page 156.

§ Page 44.

|| Page 225.

¶ Page 151.

meal is much under-rated : let this balance the error in regard to horses.

12. That it is manifest from experience, that the old laws against engrossers\*, &c. do not answer the ends for which they were made, are not suitable to the present times, tend to discourage tillage by preventing a freedom in the corn-trade ; and whenever they are put in force, which they at any time may when wheat exceeds 48s. always make the price of grain higher than it would otherwise be, by stopping the circulation thereof ; and not only cause, but also make more grievous, the evil they were calculated to prevent. That therefore there seems an absolute necessity to repeal them, and to pass “ An Act to encourage tillage and lower the price of corn, by regulating the corn-trade in this kingdom, encouraging the transportation thereof from place to place within the kingdom, and particularly from the growing to the manufacturing counties, securing of the property and protecting of the persons of those who shall lawfully deal therein, or in any branch of the said trade, and punishing such who shall be guilty of any mal-practices in carrying on the same.”

13. That since the bounty hath had such an effect as to cause wheat to be so much cheaper, that it “ is become much more generally the food of the common people since 1689, than it was before that

\* Page 74.

time \*," and it costs sixpence a week more to feed a poor man with wheat than rye †, it is insisted that it is not only unnecessary but also unreasonable to continue to pay it as high as 48s.; and it ought either to be paid to a less price, or entirely taken off, in order to keep wheat within reach of the poor; that is, as the giving the bounty on wheat hath made it cheaper than it used to be, so the forbearing to give it will make it cheaper still.

Thus have we to the best of our abilities fairly stated the purport of every material *remark* and *observation*, both for and against the foregoing *Collection*, which have either been communicated to, or occurred to us; and which it appeared necessary to lay before the *public*, as the affair of *corn* cannot be too well understood, or too maturely and dispassionately considered under every view, whether it regards the growth and internal circulation, or the exportation and importation thereof, or the part we bear in the trade thereof in *Europe*.

\* See page 205.

† See page 216, 217.

A  
SECOND SUPPLEMENT  
OF  
INTERESTING PIECES  
ON THE SUBJECT OF THE FOREGOING TRACTS.



## SECOND SUPPLEMENT.

*An Abstract of the Enumeration of the People of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in conformity to the Act of Parliament, and copied from the Report in pursuance thereof.*

Counties of England.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninha- bited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Bedford - -	11,888	13,980	185	30,523	32,870	63,393
Berks - -	20,573	23,416	622	52,821	56,394	109,215
Buckingham - -	20,443	23,834	543	52,094	55,350	107,444
Cambridge - -	16,139	19,262	312	44,081	45,265	89,346
Chester - -	34,482	37,613	1,139	92,759	98,992	191,751
Cornwall - -	32,906	39,040	1,472	89,868	98,401	188,269
Cumberland - -	21,573	25,893	872	54,377	62,353	117,230
Derby - -	31,822	33,660	1,369	79,401	81,741	161,142
Devon - -	57,955	72,559	3,235	157,240	185,761	343,001
Dorset - -	21,437	24,142	825	53,667	61,652	115,319
Durham - -	27,195	38,109	1,171	74,770	85,501	160,361
Essex - -	38,371	46,784	1,027	111,356	115,081	226,407
Gloucester - -	46,457	55,133	1,715	117,180	133,629	250,809
Hereford - -	17,003	18,822	941	43,955	45,236	89,191
Hertford - -	17,681	20,092	491	48,663	49,514	97,577
Huntingdon - -	6,841	8,150	155	18,521	19,047	37,568
Kent - -	51,585	65,967	1,413	131,374	156,250	307,624
Lancaster - -	114,270	132,147	3,394	322,356	350,375	672,731
Leicester - -	25,992	27,967	742	63,943	66,138	130,081
Lincoln - -	41,395	42,629	1,094	162,445	106,112	208,557
Middlesex - -	112,912	199,854	5,171	373,655	444,474	818,129
Monmouth - -	8,948	9,903	417	22,173	23,409	45,582
Norfolk - -	47,617	57,930	1,523	129,842	143,529	273,371
Northampton - -	26,665	29,361	736	63,417	68,340	131,757
Northumberland - -	26,518	35,503	1,534	73,357	83,744	157,101
Nottingham - -	25,611	30,081	542	68,558	71,792	140,350
Oxford - -	20,599	23,750	594	53,786	55,834	109,620
Rutland - -	3,274	3,563	87	7,978	8,378	16,356
Salop - -	31,182	34,501	929	82,563	85,076	167,639
Somerset - -	48,040	57,013	2,136	126,927	146,823	273,750
Southampton - -	38,345	45,331	912	105,667	113,989	219,656
Stafford - -	45,108	48,185	1,995	118,698	120,455	239,153
Suffolk - -	32,253	43,481	552	101,091	109,340	210,431
Surrey - -	40,072	63,673	1,514	127,138	141,905	269,043
Sussex - -	25,272	30,755	721	78,797	80,514	159,311
Warwick - -	40,847	44,028	2,936	99,942	108,243	208,190
Westmoreland - -	7,897	9,026	315	20,175	21,442	41,617
Wilts - -	29,462	30,527	1,127	87,380	97,727	185,107
Worcester - -	26,711	29,741	1,109	67,631	71,702	139,333
York: { East Riding	25,781	31,544	681	67,457	71,976	139,433
York: { North Riding	31,512	34,542	1,014	74,904	80,602	155,506
York: { West Riding	111,146	117,379	4,723	276,005	287,948	563,953
<hr/>						
	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434

England.

Counties of Wales.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Anglesey -	6,679	7,058	127	15,775	18,931	33,806
Brecon -	6,315	6,800	479	15,393	16,242	31,630
Cardigan -	8,819	9,435	221	20,403	22,548	42,956
Carmarthen -	13,449	14,876	371	31,439	35,878	67,317
Carnarvon -	8,304	8,796	129	19,586	21,935	41,521
Denbigh -	12,621	13,765	427	29,247	31,105	60,352
Flint -	7,585	8,216	194	19,577	20,045	39,622
Glamorgan -	14,225	16,596	537	34,190	37,335	71,525
Merioneth -	5,787	6,576	193	13,896	15,610	29,506
Montgomery -	8,725	9,750	223	22,914	25,064	47,978
Pembroke -	11,869	12,448	398	25,406	30,874	56,280
Radnor -	3,675	3,987	212	9,317	9,703	19,050
	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546

*An Abstract of the Enumeration of England and Wales, taken in 1801, in conformity to an Act of Parliament.*

SUMMARY.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
England -	1,467,870	1,778,420	53,965	3,987,935	4,343,499	8,331,434
Wales -	108,053	118,303	3,511	257,178	284,368	541,546
Army -	—	—	—	198,351	—	198,351
Navy -	—	—	—	126,279	—	126,279
Seamen in registered vessels -	—	—	—	144,558	—	144,558
Convicts -	—	—	—	1,410	—	1,410
Grand Total	1,575,923	1,896,723	57,476	4,715,711	4,627,867	9,343,578

In England 1,524,227 persons are employed chiefly in agriculture, and 1,789,532 in trade, manufactures, and handicraft. In Wales 189,062 are employed in agriculture, and 53,822 in trade, &c.

It will be observed, that when the army and navy are added to the males, there is a total excess of the number of males over that of females of 88,844.

2,356,773 In towns and cities.  
 198,351 Army.  
 126,279 Navy.  
 144,588 Registered vessels.  
 1,410 Convicts.

2,827,401

Total inhabitants - 9,343,578  
 Inhabiting towns, &c. - 2,827,401  
 Inhabitants of the country 6,516,177



*List of all the Cities and Towns in England and Wales, whose Population exceeds Five Thousand.*

Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
London -	121,229	216,073	5185	393,369	471,476	864,845
Manchester -	12,547	18,500	279	39,110	44,910	84,020
Liverpool -	11,446	16,989	338	34,367	43,286	77,653
Birmingham -	14,528	15,303	1875	34,716	38,954	73,670
Bristol -	10,403	14,413	493	26,943	36,702	68,645
Leeds -	11,258	11,790	341	25,504	27,658	53,162
Plymouth -	4447	10,708	89	18,016	25,178	43,194
Newcastle -	4199	9844	198	16,343	20,620	36,963
Norwich -	8016	9093	747	15,810	21,044	36,854
Bath -	4289	6510	174	12,441	19,759	32,200
Portsmouth -	5310	6937	30	14,309	17,857	32,166
Sheffield -	6518	6754	643	15,483	15,831	31,314
Hull -	4649	7449	118	13,051	16,465	29,516
Nottingham -	4977	6707	100	13,729	15,132	28,861
Exeter -	2692	3947	144	7314	10,084	17,398
Leicester -	3205	3668	85	7921	9032	16,953
York -	2407	3841	72	7018	9127	16,145
Coventry -	2930	3548	204	7672	8362	16,034
Chester -	3109	3427	85	6492	8560	15,052
Dover -	3339	3834	231	7187	7658	14,845
Yarmouth -	3081	3541	78	6463	8382	14,845
Shrewsbury -	2773	3300	88	6647	8092	14,739
Greenwich -	2067	3215	54	7323	7016	14,339
Sunderland -	1365	3372	14	4902	7510	12,412
Oxford -	1827	2230	82	5920	5774	11,694
Colchester -	1959	2829	38	5012	6508	11,520
Worcester -	2237	2627	133	4909	6443	11,352
Ipswich -	2170	2738	51	4984	6293	11,277
Wigan -	2177	2277	59	5068	5921	10,989
Derby -	2144	2441	26	4982	5850	10,832
Huddersfield -	1873	1873	101	5240	5431	10,671
Chatham -	1715	2665	14	4699	5806	10,505
Carlisle -	1314	2303	24	4479	5742	10,221
Lynn -	1965	2437	47	4540	5556	10,096
Cambridge -	1691	2078	42	4964	5123	10,087
Reading -	1751	2135	32	4642	5100	9742
Lancaster -	1598	1998	13	3999	5031	9030

Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Canterbury -	1741	2276	58	3805	5195	9000
Macclesfield -	1426	1539	101	3979	4764	8743
Whitehaven -	1776	2403	47	3343	5394	8742
Maidstone -	1330	1742	16	3835	4192	8027
Southampton -	1509	1876	73	3390	4523	7913
Devizes -	1552	1728	41	3624	4285	7909
Salisbury -	1489	1833	45	3412	4256	7668
Bury -	1360	1641	37	3399	4523	7655
Gloucester -	1325	1732	43	3428	4151	7579
Durham -	1024	1930	30	3319	4211	7530
Whitby -	1596	1992	108	3271	4212	7483
Lincoln -	1516	1619	58	3474	3924	7398
Brighthelmstone -	1282	1380	142	3274	4065	7339
Bradford -	1254	1551	34	3473	3829	7302
Berwick -	930	1791	35	3009	4178	7187
Northampton -	1322	1652	49	3244	3776	7020
Grantham -	1385	1456	72	3377	3637	7014
Kendall -	1394	1671	30	2950	3942	6892
Hereford -	1392	1715	68	3023	3805	6828
Rochester -	1136	1553	14	3071	3746	6817
Newark -	1376	1487	14	3098	3632	6730
Scarborough -	1615	1769	50	2730	3958	6688
Sandwich -	1287	1407	111	2966	3540	6506
Kidderminster -	1251	1405	44	3020	3090	6110
Swansea -	1182	1504	21	2529	3570	6099
Beverly -	1300	1432	35	2734	3267	6001
Boston -	1221	1334	31	2698	3228	5926
Winchester -	791	902	19	2767	3059	5826
Taunton -	1146	1308	48	2450	3344	5794
Warwick -	1055	1142	29	2709	3066	5775
Doncaster -	1186	1261	60	2477	3220	5697
Holywell -	1093	1189	53	2566	3001	5567
Cardiff -	930	1737	15	2338	3210	5548
Deal -	900	1107	11	2484	2936	5420
Stockport -	2572	2965	126	6983	7847	14,830
Bolton, Great -	2454	2509	56	5924	6625	12,549
Wolverhampton -	2344	3027	190	6207	6358	12,565
Oldham -	1212	1464	19	5946	6078	12,024
Blackburn -	2339	2405	13	5559	6421	11,980
Preston -	2169	2347	62	5415	6472	11,887
Quick (Yorkshire) -	1215	1873	92	5496	5169	10,665
Warrington -	2258	2315	38	4780	5787	10,567
Walsal -	1984	2084	185	5274	5125	10,399
Dudley -	1922	2170	118	4909	5198	10,107
Woolwich -	1341	2556	21	4476	5350	9826
Sporland (Lancas) -	1672	1707	123	4430	4601	9031
Hallifax -	1913	1935	62	3976	4910	8886
Frome -	1653	1853	56	4084	4664	8748
Wakefield -	1721	1792	81	3701	4430	8131
Shields, South -	1200	2225	3	3274	4834	8108
Wellington -	1467	1576	13	3796	3735	7531

Cities and Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Shields, North -	891	2024	3	2972	4308	7280
Huddersfield -	1376	1456	22	3619	3649	7268
Bury - -	1341	1400	43	3442	3630	7072
Bilston -	1246	1268	55	3433	3481	6914
Tiverton -	1221	1397	101	3301	3504	6805
Bradford (York)	1317	1393	51	2987	3406	6393
Barton -	1051	1150	22	3070	3127	6197
Bishop Wearmouth	844	1603	46	2706	3420	6126
Mansfield -	1201	1258	44	2798	3190	5988
Trowbridge -	1018	1073	67	2552	3247	5799
Hunslet -	1205	1258	64	2828	2971	5799
Croydon -	1020	1115	54	2761	2982	5743
Wokington -	1160	1375	21	2453	3263	5716
Ellesmere -	1009	1117	26	2733	2820	5553
Stroud - -	1033	1355	15	2602	2820	5422
Shepton Mallet -	1105	1191	49	2310	2794	5104
Hunckley -	919	966	11	2597	2473	5070

*A List of the County Towns in England and Wales, whose Population is less than Five Thousand.*

County Towns.	Inhabited Houses.	By how many Families occupied.	Uninhabited Houses.	Males.	Females.	Total of Persons.
Chichester -	821	1017	10	2091	2653	4744
Bedford - -	783	975	17	1712	2236	3948
Stafford -	710	802	13	1921	1977	3898
Launceston -	465	947	3	1466	2218	3684
Hertford -	529	666	13	1762	1598	3360
Monmouth -	638	743	39	1512	1833	3345
Dolgelly (Merion.)	630	730	28	1326	1623	2949
Haverfordwest	593	722	20	1097	1783	2880
Pool (Montgom.)	530	661	13	1305	1567	2872
Cardiff -	314	413	13	852	1018	1870
Guildford -	464	579	19	1242	1312	2634
Buckingham -	551	617	14	1180	1425	2605
Brecon -	499	586	41	1123	1453	2576
Dorchester -	344	515	9	1078	1324	2402
Denbigh -	534	590	18	1061	1330	2391
Huntingdon -	350	350	6	993	1042	2035
New Radnor -	359	390	20	951	970	1921
Cardigan -	415	430	20	789	1122	1911
Carnarvon -	304	336	0	828	942	1770
Beaumaris -	267	288	2	650	917	1576

# A DISSERTATION ON THE CORN-TRADE, AND THE DEPRECIATION OF MONEY.

[From Mr. CHALMERS's *Estimate*.]

OUR trade was not only carried on with an extraordinary degree of success and profit, but the surface of our island was improved with uncommon skill and augmented energy. From the restoration of peace in 1783, till the commencement of the war in 1793, domestic meliorations had been carried on, with equal vigour and success. But, during the late war, our domestic improvements have been pursued with still greater knowledge, and more useful efficacy. We may see proofs of those facts, in the subjoined

TABLE; shewing the Number of Acts of Parliament, which passed during the late War for making Roads and Bridges, &c.; Canals and Harbours, &c.; for Inclosures and Draining, &c.; for Paving and other parochial Improvements; compared with the eight preceding Years.

	1793	1794	1795	1796	1797	1798	1799	1800	Tot. of 8 Years.	Do. 8 Yrs. prec.
Roads, Bridges, &c.	62	35	36	27	39	41	49	52	341	302
Canals, Harbours, &c.	32	22	13	18	14	7	10	16	132	64
Inclosures, Draining, &c.	62	74	85	76	91	52	66	88	589	245
Paving, and other parochial Improvements	15	5	10	8	7	7	4	6	62	139
Total	171	136	139	129	151	107	129	162	1,124	750

We

We thus see, distinctly, that the active spirit of domestic melioration, which existed before the war began, continued, with augmented energy, during the progress of hostilities. The world will contemplate this enterprise with wonder. Millions, and tens of millions, have been raised upon the people, for carrying on an interesting war, yet they found money, as they had skill, and industry, to improve their island. *Great Britain*, as it has been more improved, during the war, is worth more, at the conclusion of it, than when unprovoked hostilities began. And this happy isle, where the foot of the foe never treads, if it were brought to the hammer, would sell for more than it would have fetched, at any former period, in proportion to its additional improvements.

Yet, what do all those improvements of the country avail, if the people have not victual to eat? This question would lead us into the wide, and thorny, wilderness of *agricultural reports*. But though I have been regularly summoned to contribute a day's labour in this unweeded garden, I have hitherto been frightened by the toil. I had the honour to receive, some months ago, a circular letter from the Board of Agriculture; soliciting such observations, as I might have to make, with regard to the best mode of preventing future scarcity. But my various avocations have hitherto prevented me from essaying so arduous a subject.

I will, however, contribute two or three *truisms*,



which may induce some person, who has more leisure, and more skill, than I can command, to add a few more; in the hope, that a regular collection of *truisms* may be formed, on this interesting subject: for, amidst a long-continued clamour of contradiction, I have scarcely found any two persons, who could agree upon any one position.

1st TRUISM. There have been ten times more agricultural melioration, during the present reign, than in any anterior period\*. Yet is it in this reign that we appear to have lost the export of corn. It would be very absurd logic to maintain, that the surface of our island, in proportion as it is improved, by inclosing, draining, and by every sort of manurance, became less productive. There are two facts, which are incontrovertible, and are very interesting: 1st, During the six-and-thirty years which ended with 1800, the surface of our island was continually improved, beyond all former ex-

\* The foregoing pages furnish abundant proofs of that position: but I will rely on an authority which will not be disputed. The Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, on the waste lands, stated, in 1797,

A Table of the acts of inclosure, with the extent of land inclosed in the following reigns.

	No. of Acts.	No. of Acres.
In Q. Ann's	2	1,439
In George I.	16	17,660
In George II.	226	318,778
In George III.	1,532	2,804,197

ample,

ample, and in the *last* ten years of this period more than in the *first* ten years: 2dly, With the same six-and-thirty years, our importation of corn began; and has increased the most, towards the conclusion of this long period\*.

2d TRUISM: During the present reign, there have been more skill, more money, and more efficient work, employed in our agriculture, than in any former period.

By a necessary progress, the nation had become more knowing, more opulent, and more enterprising. The farmers have been better paid for their pains, in this reign, than in prior times†. It would be a very absurd argument, then, to maintain, that our fields produce less, as they are better cultivated.

3d TRUISM: This island must necessarily produce more victual in the present reign, than in any former period. From more skill, more expense, and more manurance, the appropriate result must be more product. He, then, would be an absurd reasoner, who, from such premises, should maintain, that more skill, more expense, and more cultivation, must necessarily produce less, upon a medium of seasons.

\* The averages in the corn accounts, printed by the order of Parliament, on the 14th of *November* 1800, establish the fact, as to the imports; and the journals of Parliament, and the statute-book, as to the improvements.

† The corn accounts printed by the said order of the 14th of *November* 1800.



From those three *truisms* there results, in my judgment, a fourth *truism*, though other persons may think differently from me upon the point: that all the late struggle, canyassing, and clamour, for a general act of inclosure, are groundless. If the country be in a continual course of improvement, and if this progress of melioration gather energy, as it proceeds, this much-sought-for measure is groundless, in its policy. If a general inclosure act would divert from profitable employments a greater portion of capital, of labour, and of enterprise, than would otherwise run into that channel, such an act would introduce an evil, rather than a good, into our political economy. If all interests, however, could be made to concur, there seems to be no other objection to a general inclosure act, except that the spirit of improvement might slacken, perhaps, if that object were obtained; as lassitude generally follows enjoyment.

From the foregoing *truisms*, I am inclined strongly to think that there is more *victual*\* produced at present, in a *bad* season, than there was, formerly, produced in *England* and *Wales*, during a *good* season †. \*If we throw into the scale the  
vast

\* I use the good old *English* word *victual*, as it was used by *Shakespeare*, and by the Parliament in the reign of *Charles II.* in a larger sense than *corn*, as stores for the support of life.

† The greatest surplus of corn which was ever sent out of this country,

vast quantity of potatoes, which are now annually grown more than there were fifty years ago, the balance will shew, that there is raised, at present, an infinitely greater quantity of *victual* in *bad* seasons, than there was, fifty years ago, raised in *good* seasons.

The difficulty and the distress of late times did not arise from our *producing less*, notwithstanding the unfavourable seasons; but from our *consuming more*: in good seasons, we produce infinitely more victual than was raised in the prosperous years ending with 1754; perhaps enough, in plentiful

country, was in the five years ending with 1754: and which amounted to - - - - - 1,087,594 qrs.

The quantity of corn, which was imported according to an average of the five years of scarcity, ended with 1799, was - - - - - 1,190,131

---

2,277,725

---

Now, that quantity would not supply the additional number of people, which enumeration has at length found to be 2,830,000, who yearly consume one quarter each person, or 2,830,000 qrs. The annual deficiency is no less than 552,272 quarters. Mr. *Dirom* argues this question, upon the supposition, that each person consumes two quarters; 1st, because he made his estimate not only upon wheat, but upon oats, rye, barley, malt; 2dly, because he included also the consumption of pastry-makers and starch-makers, of poultry, pigs, horses which are not used in agriculture; and even the brewery and distillery. The fact is, the above statements of the exports and imports include all sorts of grain: and, consequently, the estimate of the consumption ought to include every sort of consumer.

years, as we may infer from the foregoing details: but we consume much more; as we may learn from the well-known amount of the imports of corn during recent times. We have 2,830,000 more people in *England* and *Wales*, at present, as we know, from the late enumeration, than there existed, in the same countries, at the epoch of the bounty on corn, in 1689: if each consumer use at least one quarter a year, then the general consumption of such persons must be 2,830,000 quarters of every sort of grain\*: and, consequently,

\* The Rev. *John Howlett* says, *Dispersion*, p. 11,—“ If these additional inhabitants live upon barley, they will each require *twelve* bushels a year, instead of *eight* of wheat; if upon oats, nearly sixteen bushels.” Mr. *Dirom*, in his *Corn Tracts*, p. 15, says, “ Wheat is double the value of the inferior grain; I shall throw upon the general consumption of the people, the grain consumed by horses which are not employed in agriculture, hogs, poultry, starch-makers, &c.; and when it is considered that a great number of people live chiefly upon the inferior grain, we cannot, under all these circumstances, appropriate less than two quarters of the several sorts of grain, over-hand, to the consumption of each person, upon an average yearly, for bread, beer, spirits, &c.” With those intimations the well-informed author of the *Corn Tracts* had already concurred. According to the principles of Mr. *C. Smith* [*Tracts*, p. 40], we may now estimate the whole consumption of *England* and *Wales*, which the enumeration has assured us, contain 9,330,000 persons,

	Quarters.
Bread corn, at one quarter each - - - - -	9,330,000
Corn made into drink - - - - -	4,665,000
Corn for cattle, poultry, &c. - - - - -	4,665,000
The total of home consumption - - - - -	18,660,000

more than half a million of quarters beyond the former export, and recent import of corn, added together, as we have seen. Neither is there included in this estimate the starch-making, the pastry, the poultry-meat, the pig-meat, the horse-corn, the distillery, the brewery. The consumption is, therefore, not only much greater now than formerly, but many consumers, who, in less opulent times, eat rye-meal and oat-meal, now eat flour of wheat. The consumption of the whole body of consumers is not only more expensive, but is more wasteful at present than formerly. A revolution, which has gradually taken place during the last fifty or sixty years, has lessened the number of supplies, and added largely to the body of consumers. The cottagers have been driven into villages; the villagers have been forced into towns, and the townsmen have been enticed into cities: while the cottagers remained in their hamlets, and the villagers in their vicinages, they derived much of their subsistence from the soil whercon they lived: when they became townsmen and citizens, they ceased to be partly suppliers, and began to be altogether consumers.

We owe much of this disadvantageous change to our modern system of agriculture. This system, as it has been long practised, has produced the most calamitous effects, without effecting all the salutary consequences for which it is celebrated. By consolidating farms to an enormous extent; by forcing cottagers from their hamlets; by pretending  
to

to make much profit with little labour; the agricultural system has depopulated, and is depopulating, the shires wherein it prevails. This evil in our political economy, has been long suspected: it is now certain. There is not a proposition in the mathematics, that is more demonstrable than the position, that the agricultural system depopulates the country\*. The agricultural system attempts to

\* The enumeration of 1801, among a thousand other informations, evinces the truth of that position:

	N <sup>o</sup> of Houses in 1690.		Ditto. in 1801.		Decrease.
In Bedfordshire - -	12,170	—	12,073	—	97
Cambridgeshire - -	18,629	—	16,451	—	2,178
Essex - - -	49,545	—	39,398	—	1,147
Huntingdon - - -	8,713	—	7,072	—	1,641
Lincoln - - -	45,019	—	42,489	—	2,530
Norfolk - - -	56,579	—	49,140	—	7,439
Rutland - - -	3,661	—	3,361	—	300
Suffolk - - -	47,537	—	32,805	—	14,732
	—		—		—

These are all agricultural counties: and the diminution of the numbers of their houses, during the intervening period, is a sad demonstration how much the agricultural system tends to depopulate the countries which are comprehended within the circle of its unhappy influence. An equal number of the shires of *Scotland*, which have been the most improved by agriculture, have been in the same manner depopulated. The ministers of many parishes in *North Britain* point out, in their statistical accounts, the consolidation of farms, the sheep-farming, the driving the people from the hamlets into towns, as the obvious causes



to ape the manufacturing system, which has a quite different tendency. The great aim of the manufacturing system is to produce a better commodity, at a cheaper rate. The constant effect of the agricultural system is to produce a worse commodity, at a dearer rate. While peers sink into peasants, and peasants rise into peers, the great body of the people is pining in want.

There may be politicians, indeed, who, considering money as the chief end of all policy, may think, that forcing the cottagers into towns, and the villagers into cities, is a good to be desired, rather than an evil to be deplored. Yes, we have had statesmen, who laid it down as a maxim, that modern war is merely an affair of expense. The wealthiest nation, it was naturally presumed, would ultimately be the most triumphant; and final victory was supposed to be appended to the weightiest purse. We have lived, however, to see a nation arise, who could make conquests, without money; as, indeed, history had already recorded the conquests of poverty over riches. *Europe* has recently seen that our wealth could not obtain warriors. And we were driven by necessity, or were induced by wisdom, to intrust the safety of

causes of the depopulation of their several parishes. Yet, see the "Observations on the Results of the Population Act, 41 Geo. III." which, from different documents, lead us to very different conclusions.

our

our island to the virtuous spirit of our people. Where is that illustrious regiment, which overthrew the invincible phalanx, to find recruits, if sheep be driven into our northern glens, as a more valuable animal than the human race? Where shall our armies obtain the hardiest levies, if the villagers be forced into cities? We may now perceive, that money cannot buy men; that men are of more value than money: the policy, then, which regards riches as the chief good, must end in the ruin of the state: and that statesman who should consider the Exchequer as the only object of his care, would soon be without an Exchequer to care for. From those intimations we may infer what must be the attentions of the wisest government of the wisest of people.

As I have been asked my opinion with regard to scarcity, the past, and the future, I will submit my judgment upon this interesting subject. During the war, and the dearth, I was silent, though I did not always approve of what was done, or said. Now, that we have peace and plenty, I will freely deliver my sentiments, which, to those who may not recollect that I am not writing for any party, will perhaps appear to be contradictory. It is necessary, in the first place, to lay before the reader a *Statement of the Prices of Wheat*, according to the audit-book of *Eton College*, from 1685 to 1771, and from this year to 1801, according to the average



rage of the *Eton* prices, reduced, however, to the statute quarter, and to the middling quality; and of Mr. *Catherwood's* prices of *England* and *Wales*; of the excess of exports and imports of corn, from the year 1696, to 1800, inclusive, including *Scotland*, after the Union; together with the bounties which were paid during the several periods wherein bounties were given: the bounties of the three years ending with 1691, and those of the five years ending with 1696, were computed at only the half of what the bounties amounted to in the subsequent years, when the prices of corn were the same.

*A TABLE; - shewing the average Prices of middling Wheat, per Statute Quarter; the average Excess of the Exports of every Sort of Corn, Flour, and Meal; the average Imports of the same; and the whole Bounties paid on the Corn exported during the Years of the several Averages.*

PERIODS.	The Prices of Wheat per stat. qr		The Excess of Exports.	The Excess of Imports.	The Bounties paid.
	s.	d.	Quarters.	Quarters.	£.
3 Years Average, ending with 1688	27	4	—	—	None.
3 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1691	26	-	—	—	66,600
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1696	47	9	—	—	60,000
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1701	42	8	139,866	—	26,773
6 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1707	25	11	289,304	—	310,087
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1711	49	9	299,367	—	192,533
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1715	37	8	453,986	—	288,501
4 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1719	32	1	485,852	—	248,192
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1724	28	10	532,732	—	388,204
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1729	37	7	216,643	—	286,829
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1734	25	9	468,844	—	445,496
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1739	30	10	597,462	—	576,550
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1744	28	7	446,378	—	396,941
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1749	27	9	932,593	—	775,137
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1754	30	5	1,080,077	—	964,340
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1759	36	2	273,805	—	354,332
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1764	30	7	676,117	—	703,170
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1769	43	2	—	233,184	156,505
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1774	47	9½	—	276,206	24,036
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1779	40	9	—	290,595	193,225
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1784	45	9½	—	185,906	167,764
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1789	43	3	—	198,716	268,148
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1794	47	2	—	1,145,584	106,544
5 years D <sup>o</sup> ending 1799	63	5½	—	1,191,131	138
The one year - 1800	113	4	—	2,259,379	
					7,000,045

The epoch of the *bounty* on corn is 1689. In my copy of the Statutes, the bounty is called a *reward to persons exporting corn* \*. The price of middling wheat, at that epoch, according to a five years average, ending with 1689, was 28s. 9d. a statute quarter. A long period of fine seasons had reduced the market value to that low price. And this low price, and those fine seasons, induced the Parliament to pass the before-mentioned act, “for encouraging the exportation of corn,” when wheat should be at 48s. or under. The value of money was, at that epoch, in the ratio of 226, in 1689, to 562, in 1800†; and, of consequence, 1*l.* in 1689 had as much power over the necessaries of life as 2*l.* 9s. 8¼*d.* had in 1800.

The fine seasons did not continue long. The seasons, however, were so far favourable in 1690 and 1691, as to reduce the prices below the average of 28s. 9d. notwithstanding the bounty, and the act encouraging exportation. The seasons changed from good to bad, in 1692; and continued extremely unfavourable till 1702, when the price fell below the average of 28s. 9d. Those times were long remembered as the *dear* years of the revolution, when the price of *middling* wheat rose to 56s. the *statute* quarter in 1696. We have had no such

\* 1 Wm. & Mary, ch. 12.

† See Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's interesting and important table of the appreciation of money, in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, 1798, p. 176.

scarcity, and dearth, during late times. The fine seasons returned in 1702, and continued till 1708. Two or three unfavourable seasons carried up the prices of wheat to 62s. in 1709, and to 61s. 7d. in 1710. The high prices of 1800, considering the depreciation of money, were not so high as those of 1709 and 1710. A long course of favourable seasons now succeeded; and continued, with very little interruption, till 1756 and 1757, when the price of middling wheat rose to 47s. 4d. the statute quarter, which, having a regard to the depreciation of money, was still under the low price of 1689. At length clamour, and tumult, began; which have continued, during bad seasons, till the present times.

Some insist, that the bounties have fructified our fields: some, that they have not prevented the return of bad seasons, nor benefited our farmers, in good seasons. The late Dr. *Adam Smith* maintained that, without benefiting the farmers, the bounty did harm to the great body of the people, in two respects; it raised the price in the home market; and it transferred vast sums of money, at the most distressful times, from the purses of the consumers to the pockets of the jobbers\*. The Rev. *John Howlett*, with as sound a head as Dr. *Smith*, and more facts before his eyes, cannot see “the beneficial operation of the bounty †.”

\* *Wealth of Nations*, vol. ii. p. 266.

† *The Dispersion of gloomy Apprehensions*, 1797, p. 22.

There is a curious circumstance, which neither of those quick-sighted writers distinctly saw: Till the Corn Act of 1791, there was no proper mode prescribed by law for ascertaining the prices of grain\*. The customers, who computed the bounty at the Custom-house, and the brokers, who received it, understood each other: but neither the growers of corn, nor the consumers, knew the prices of grain, except the price of the narrow market wherein they dealt. Neither did the King and Parliament, during former reigns, know the general prices of grain, except from the noise and tumult of the needy. Now, those facts not only confirm the reasonings of *Smith* and *Howelett*, but evince, that the bounty went directly from the pockets of the consumers into the purses of the brokers, yet without benefiting the growers. From the first establishment of the bounty till its recent cessation, owing to natural causes, upwards of seven millions of money have been paid by the public, not for a *good* purpose, but for a *bad* purpose. It has, moreover, created a continued contest, by a struggle between avarice and want. And, to the scandal of the better judgment of the nation, a *probable good* has been allowed, for more than a century, to outface two *positive evils*: the *probable good* was the supposed fructification of

\* The register of corn prices began indeed in 1771; but it was inadequate to its end.

our fields: the two *positive evils* were the payment of seven millions of money, for making corn dearer in the home market, without contributing to the manurance of the soil\*.

The struggle and perseverance in promoting the export of the produce of agriculture, in former times, appears quite wonderful to the harassed eyes of the present day. The dear years of the revolution began in 1692. The prices of grain rose to the greatest height in 1696. They continued very high till 1699, when they began to abate, till the better seasons returned in 1700. The export of corn was prohibited in 1699, for one year†. The bounty was soon afterwards withdrawn, from the 9th of *February* 1699, to the 20th of *September* 1700‡. And the duties which were payable on the export of victual, were repealed for ever in 1700§. From those facts it is apparent, that the  
King

\* By the Corn Act of 1773, the original bounty price of 48s. a quarter of wheat was reduced to a rate under 44s.; and this reduced rate was continued by the Corn Act of 1791. But the 20 G. 3. ch. 31. seemed to introduce a new principle, when it allowed only one half of the bounty on corn exported in neutral ships.

† By 10 *Wm.* ch. 3. By 10, 11, *Wm.* ch. 4. the distillery was stopped for a season.

‡ By 11 *Wm.* ch. 1.—All those alleviations came after the evil day had passed.

§ By 11, 12, *Wm.* ch. 20.—During that reign too, there was passed “An Act for the Encouragement of the Breeding and Feeding of Cattle.” 3 *Wm.* & *M.* ch. 8. The great object of this



King and Parliament, in those days, either did not know the state of the prices, or did not feel for the miseries of the poor, with the same pungency as the King and Parliament feel at present. The years 1709 and 1710 were times of greater dearths, though perhaps of less calamity, than those of King *William's* reign. The only anodyne, which was applied in those two years, was the measure of preventing the export of corn for one year, without withdrawing the bounty\*. There was very little grain imported during those two periods of severe dearths. And this fact seems to evince, that the prevailing passion for export on both those sad occasions, drove the consumers to rigid economy, which generally is the best resource.

A long course of favourable seasons prevented the return of dearth till 1740, which was not comparable to the dear years of King *William* and Queen *Anne*. The export of corn was, however, stopped in 1741. The same measure was adopted in 1757, when a worse season in the preceding year occasioned a louder outcry and greater tumult. The outcry, and the tumult, and the alarm, rose to a greater height, during the un-

this encouragement, which was given at the commencement of the dear years, consisted in taking off the duties on the *exportation* of all the products of agriculture. I do not observe, that any measure was taken, during the nine years of want, to stop the exportation, or to repeal this act, giving a reward for raising the prices of the products of agriculture in the home market.

\* By the 8 *Anne*, ch. 2.



favourable seasons of 1765, 1766, 1767, though neither the nominal, nor the real, prices of victual were equal to those of the times of Queen *Anne* or King *William*. It was this clamour of contradiction, which induced ingenious men to attribute the apparent prices, and subsequent distress, to *the depreciation of money*. *Montesquieu*, and *Hume*, had already talked of the effect of riches and luxury upon the necessaries of life. But it was *Soame Jenyns*, who long sat at the Board of Trade, who professedly inculcated, “ that the present high price of provisions [1766] arises, principally, from the poverty of the public, and the wealth of individuals\*.” But, as he knew not how to calculate the depreciation of money, he was unable to apply it specifically to his point.

The passion which had so long contrived *ways and means* for *exporting* the necessaries of life, was at length met by a contrary passion. And, from 1766 to 1773, encouragements were continually offered for the importation of the necessaries of life†. This importation, and that passion, continued to the present times. The year 1796 is the

\* In his *Thoughts on the Causes, and Consequences, of the present high Price of Provisions*; Dodsley, 1767, 8vo. He was immediately answered by a pamphlet, abusing all the servants of the public, who were the very persons that suffered the most from *the depreciation of money*.

† By the various acts of Parliament in those times. The obvious change in the current of the corn-trade may be traced back not only to the bad seasons, but to those Parliamentary acts.

epoch of the bounty on the *importation* of victual \*. This first essay cost the nation 565,802*l.* The unfavourable seasons, and the continued fright, gave rise to greater and more various bounties on the *importation* of victual †. This second essay has already intercepted, in its course to the Exchequer, no less than 1,251,479*l.* Of victual, there was imported, in 1800, as we have seen, 2,259,379 statute quarters. Such are the effects of carrying policy to extremes; in one period, *exportation* was too much *rewarded*; in another, *importation* was too much *forced*. The people

———“ Feel by turns the bitter change

Of fierce *extremes*, *extremes* by change more fierce.”

In the mean time, something like a *corn system* was adopted, in 1773, by regulating the export, and import, of grain, according to given prices ‡. Yet was that system said “ to be founded on radical mistakes ||.” During the subsequent eighteen years, the *corn-laws* were involved in a complete chaos. The ablest lawyers in *England* could not say, distinctly, by what law the exports, and imports, of grain were to be regulated. In this state of legal anarchy, one of the greatest statesmen whom this country has ever produced, undertook the arduous task of drawing order from confusion. All the elaboration of diligence, and all the wisdom

\* 36 *Geo.* 3. ch. 21.

† 39, 40 *Geo.* 3. ch. 29. 41 *Geo.* 3. ch. 10.

‡ 13 *Geo.* 3. ch. 43.

|| *Mr. Young's Pol. Arithmetic*, p. 40.

of experience, were now employed, in forming the Corn Act of 1791 \*. Yet, alas ! what is the wisdom of the wise ? A continued succession of unfavourable seasons has rendered nugatory the judicious regulations of that systematic law.

During more than half a century, we have been stunned with controversy about *the corn-laws*, which seem to be abrogated by a higher Power than Parliament. “ The grand and leading error upon this subject seems to be,” says the Rev. *John Howlett*, “ that we ascribe too much to human contrivance ; and too little to providential superintendence †.” When this able man made this deep remark, he had before him many facts. When the late Dr. *Smith* argued this question, he could only see, with systematic eyes, *the disparagement of silver*. After viewing the whole operation of the corn-laws, with a very acute intellect, Mr. *Howlett* ‡ “ thought it manifest, that the various *changes* in our *corn-laws* are so far from having been the only, or even any considerable, cause of the decrease of our exports (of corn), that there is no necessity for supposing they have been any cause at all.” With this opinion I concur. After a long consideration of the *corn-accounts*, which were printed by order of Parliament

\* 31 Geo. 3. ch. 30. This act, however, was not finally passed as it had been originally proposed. See the notes on p. 40, 41, of the *Corn Representation*, lately printed for Stockdale.

† His Dispersion, 1797, p. 21.

‡ Id.

in *November* 1800, and weighing collateral circumstances, it appears to me, that the seasons, either good or bad, have been the efficient causes of plenty, or scarcity, from the epoch of the exportation bounty to the present times. After fully considering this interesting subject, the series of corn-laws appeared to me like continued attempts to regulate the seasons. In the weighty consideration of supplying the necessaries of life there are two points, which are beyond the power of Parliament: the Legislature cannot regulate the course of the seasons; neither can the Legislature control the subtle, and silent, depreciation of money, which seems to have the all-powerful force of *steam*: the effect of unfavourable seasons may be mitigated by the best system of agriculture: the unhappy influence of the depreciation of money may be mollified by the rigid economy of individuals.

Thus much, then, with regard to *the bounty*, and to *the corn-laws*: I will now speak of the recent dearths, which proceeded from various causes. The principal cause was, undoubtedly, a long series of unfavourable seasons. We have, as I have already shewn, not only a greater number of people to feed; but a greater number of opulent and wasteful people to feed; owing to the favourable change in the circumstances of a great many people. In the mean time, the whole necessaries of life were sold upon the principles of *concert*. From *Cornwall* to *Caithness* there is an understanding among the sellers, who never forget that the

consumers are wholly in their power. And, by means of this understanding, and of that concert, there is not a free market in *Britain*, where the balance of supply, and demand, can vibrate, without the interruptions of avarice. Some of those evils have been attributed to the banks. It has been urged, that the paper of the Bank of *England* has greatly contributed to raise the prices of corn and cattle. The abstract position is obviously absurd: and the arguments which have been given in support of that absurdity, I have always considered as nonsensical. If it had been argued, that the discounts of the Bank promote circulation; that circulation encourages industry; that industry energizes agriculture, manufacture, commerce; that all these create wealth; that wealth engenders luxury: that luxury creates consumption; and that consumption affects the prices; I should have admitted these several deductions to be so many *truisms*: but it is not true, in point of fact, that the paper of the Bank of *England* ever comes into direct contact with prices, though they may, after a long course of circulation. It seems, however, certain, that the country banks furnish *accommodations* to farmers: yet, have not farmers the same right to the benefits of *accommodations*, as merchants, and other tradesmen, have, to discounts, and advances, and other commercial resources? The talk about paper money, on this occasion, is only an outcry, that we are an opulent and free-spending people!

Whether the late war has had any great influence  
on

on prices, has been doubted by some, and denied by others. There is scarcely a paradox that some philosophers have not maintained. Some of our political economists have closely followed their track in the paradoxical line. One truth is clear: it was not the *word* war, nor the *thing*, which raised the prices, in the domestic market: but our fleets, and our armies, have large mouths, that must be supplied: and when the public agents go into the market, with additional demands, the prices must necessarily rise; since the price is governed by the demand and the supply. If there should be an additional demand, and a less supply, during seasons of scarcity, the public agents must, undoubtedly, raise the prices, in a high degree. But some other effects of war contributed to enhance the prices still more. When the assessed taxes, and the income-tax, were collected, the suppliers of the necessaries of life contrived to impose their proportion of those taxes on the consumers, in the prices of the necessary articles. The public agents have withdrawn from the markets; yet the consequences of the war affect the consumers, during the enjoyment of peace.

This intimation leads to a slight consideration of *the depreciation of money*. The mean appreciation, from 1689, the epoch of the export bounty on corn, to 1800, is in the ratio of 226 to 562, nearly \*: now, the result is, that *1l.* in 1689, had

\* See Sir George Shuckburgh Evelyn's *Table of the Appreciation of Money*, in the Transactions of the Royal Society, 1793, p. 176.



as great a power over the necessities of life, as 2*l.* 9*s.* 8½*d.* had in 1800. From the same *appreciation* there is another result. According to a five years average, ending with 1689, the price of middling wheat, per statute quarter, was 1*l.* 8*s.* 8¾*d.*: now, this sum had as great a power over the necessities of life, as 3*l.* 11*s.* 5*d.* in 1800: and the average price of five dear years, ending with 1799, was only 3*l.* 3*s.* 5½*d.*: so that this *high* price of five *dear* years, was not so large as the *low* price of middling wheat, in the five *plentiful* years ending with 1689. From the foregoing results we may infer, that the dear years of recent times were not equal in dearness, and misery, to the dear years of a century before. The depreciation of money, according to Sir *George Shuckburgh Evelyn's* table, from 1696 to 1800, was in the ratio of 234.52 to 562, nearly: so that 1*l.* in 1696, was equal in power to 2*l.* 7*s.* 11*d.* in 1800: and, of consequence, the average price of wheat, in the very dear year 1696, was equal to 6*l.* 14*s.* 2*d.* in the very dear year 1800. The depreciation, according to the same curious and important *table*, from 1710 to 1800, was in the ratio of 247½ to 562, nearly: so that 1*l.* in 1710 was equal in energy to 2*l.* 5*s.* 5*d.* in 1800: now, the average price of the quarter of middling wheat, in 1709, was 3*l.* 2*s.*; which, in power over necessities, was equal to 7*l.* 0*s.* 9½*d.* in 1800. It is therefore demonstrable, that the dearness and distress of recent times, were not equal to the dearness and distress of the several reigns



reigns of King *William* and Queen *Anne*. Under Providence, we owe the favourable difference of late times to the better state of our agriculture; proceeding from that gradual progress of improvement, which has been traced, during the two last centuries; and which has doubled in its progress, during the present reign, and has redoubled its many meliorations during the last six-and-thirty years.

The subject of the *depreciation of money* is so interesting to the *state*, to the governed, as well as to the governors, that I will presume to exhibit it in a different light. By a parliamentary arrangement, in 1760, the civil list revenue was compensated by an annuity of 800,000*l.*; his Majesty having graciously offered to relinquish his hereditary revenues, in consideration of an equivalent. It is a parliamentary principle, which has been long settled, that whoever, whether the prince or the peasant, relinquishes any rights, for the benefit of the public, shall receive a full compensation. On that principle was the said annuity of 800,000*l.* settled, by Parliament, on his Majesty, in lieu of his hereditary revenues \*. Upon that annuity the depreciation

\* 1 *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. The historian of our revenue does not distinctly state that arrangement, which comprehends the royal grace and the parliamentary engagement. The learned Baronet, however, recapitulates the various sums, which, from time to time, have been paid in supplementary aid of the civil list; and at length infers, that the total, during the space of twenty-eight years, amounts to 923,196*l. per annum.* Sir *J. Sinclair's Hist. of the Public Revenue*, vol. iii. p. 72. But his sagacity seems

ation of money attached, as it equally attaches upon all other annuities. It was found necessary, therefore, in 1777, to bring the arrears of the civil list before the Parliament, for its just consideration. The civil list debt was paid; and the said annuity was enlarged to 900,000*l.* without any very minute calculation, whether 900,000*l.* in 1777, had the same power over the necessaries of life, as 800,000*l.* had in 1760. The depreciation of money, from 1760 to 1800, according to the important *table* before mentioned, was in the ratio of 342 to 562: so that 1*l.* in 1760, could command as many of the necessaries of life, as 1*l.* 12*s.* 10*d.* in 1800: and consequently, an annuity of 800,000*l.* in 1760, was equal, in its faculties, to an annuity of 1,314,619*l.* 17*s.* 7½*d.* in 1800. Such, then, are some of the effects of the depreciation of money, which, as they are subtle and silent, cannot be easily foreseen, and cannot be wholly prevented. I have now spoken of the several points of our political economy, which I proposed to discuss, with the freedom of a man who always thinks for himself.

not to have perceived, that the depreciation of money was out-running the annuity; and his algebra did not discover, by computation, that 923,196*l.* in 1786, were not equal, in power of purchase, to 800,000*l.* in 1760: in fact, according to the Table, and the principles before mentioned, an annuity of 900,000*l.* was equal, in its energies, during the year 1760, to an annuity of 1,478,947*l.* 7*s.* 4*d.* in 1800. Now, *the mathematics* cannot be out-faced by confidence, nor out-argued by declamation.

*A STATEMENT of the Prices of MIDDLING WHEAT per Quarter, according to the Winchester Measure; also of the Quantities of all Grain EXPORTED, with the Bounties paid thereon, and of the Quantities of all Grain IMPORTED in each Year, from the Year 1697 to the Year 1799, both Years inclusive, divided into Periods: With an Account of the Excess of the Exports and Imports, on an Average, in each Period.*

It has been thought right to bring into one view a statement of the corn-trade of this kingdom, during the whole of the present century, from the best documents that could be procured. The account of the import and export of corn of all sorts to and from *England*, which is the most important document of all, has been correctly kept in a ledger at the Custom-house of *London*, by the Inspector General of Imports and Exports. Many parts of this account of the import and export of corn to and from *England* have, for different periods, occasionally been printed by order of one or other House of Parliament. The office of Inspector General of Imports and Exports was not established till the year 1696. No earlier complete account could therefore be obtained than that of 1697. This account, of course, commences from the year 1697, inclusive, and is continued to the present time.

In *Scotland*, a similar ledger, or accurate account of the import and export of corn to and from that kingdom, was not kept at the Custom-house at *Edinburgh* before the Union, and for many years after the Union, that is, till the year 1755. From the year 1755 a similar ledger has been kept till the present time; and the same confidence may therefore be placed in the official accounts of the imports and exports of corn to and from *Scotland*, from the year last mentioned to the present time, as in the accounts of the imports and exports of corn to and from *England*. To remedy the deficiency in the *Scotch* accounts of the imports and exports of corn previous to the year 1755, it has been found necessary to have recourse to the tables published in the Corn Tracts of Mr. *Dirom*, a gentleman who took extraordinary pains in collecting from the best sources every information of this nature; and his tables are generally supposed to contain the most accurate account of the imports and exports of corn to and from *Scotland* of any that have ever yet been published.

The conversion of wheaten flour imported and exported, into quarters of wheat, has been made, by estimating three hundred weight of flour as equal to one quarter of wheat. This practice has been followed since the year 1771; but it is supposed that, previous to that period, the practice of converting wheaten flour into wheat, at the Custom-house,

house, was by estimating four hundred weight of flour as equal to one quarter of wheat.

In stating the quantity of malt imported or exported, the rule observed has been to estimate a quarter of malt as equal to a quarter of barley.

The conversion of oatmeal into oats has been made according to a rule laid down in the Corn Act of 1791, by multiplying the number of bolls of oatmeal imported or exported by 140, which is supposed to be the average weight in pounds avoirdupois of a boll of oatmeal, and then by dividing the sum so produced by 176, which is the number of pounds declared by that act to be equal, on an average, to eight bushels, or a quarter of oats.

The statement of the bounties paid on corn exported is taken from an account furnished by the Receiver General of the Customs from the year 1717 to the present time. He has also furnished a like account for the years 1700 and 1701. But he alleges, that for the remaining years, from 1697 to 1717, there is no official account now remaining at the Custom-house. The accounts therefore of the bounties paid in these deficient years have been taken from the best printed accounts now extant, which it is probable were copied originally from Custom-house accounts, which were then in existence.

The prices of wheat in the first column of this statement are taken from the audit-book of *Eton College*. These prices are taken twice in each year,



that is, at *Lady Day* and *Michaelmas*, for the purpose of ascertaining what is called the corn-rent, by virtue of an act passed in the 18th *Eliz.* ch. vi. and according to the rules prescribed in the said act: but as the *Windsor* measure was one ninth greater than the *Winchester* measure, the prices in this statement have been reduced in proportion. And as the price of wheat so taken and registered in the audit-book of *Eton* College is of the best wheat, a further reduction has been made, to bring it to the price of middling wheat, according to a rule laid down by the late Mr. *Smith*, author of the *Corn Tracts*, and adopted by *J. J. Catherwood*, the present receiver of corn returns, with the approbation of the late Mr. *Whitbread*. And in addition to this table of prices, founded on those kept in the audit-book of *Eton* College, a further account of the prices of middling wheat from the year 1771, inclusive, is given in an adjoining column, according to the returns made to the Receiver of Corn Returns from several parts of the kingdom, by virtue of Acts of Parliament requiring the making of such returns; from which a weekly table has been prepared, according to the rules laid down in the said acts, and published weekly in the *London Gazette*. An opportunity is thus given of judging of the accuracy of these prices, by comparing them together.

# ENGLAND.

## PRICES OF WHEAT, &c.

305

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Eton College.	Bounties.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease and Beans.	
			Exports	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
1697	s. d.	£.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
98	47 5	14,712	102,255	612	84,666	211	295	1	25,96	—	—	—
(a) 99	54 —	11,653	85,978	5,981	77,575	150	172	520	1,343	3,622	—	—
1700	50 7	408	557	486	1586	—	302	1,280	405	350	—	—
1701	31 6	Nil.	49,057	5	63,468	—	391	234	27,231	—	—	—
Average	29 9	Nil.	98,324	1	72,400	—	286	20	43,917	—	—	—
	42 8		336,171	7,085	299,695	361	1,446	2,055	75,492	3,972		
			7,085		361			1,446	3,972			
		Excess	329,086		299,334			609	71,520			
5 Years Average			65,817		59,867			122	14,304			





ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.

1708	32	10	37,652	83,969	86	143,990	30	6,167	70	4,732	—	—
(b) 9	62	—	94,120	171,618	1,552	195,647	679	2,823	1	166,519	—	—
10	61	8	16,293	16,607	400	92,844	607	814	253	12,237	—	—
11	42	8	44,468	80,941	—	175,379	19	8,916	—	37,963	—	—
Average	49	9	353,135	2,038	—	607,860	1,335	18,720	324	221,451	—	—
			2,038	—	—	1,335	—	324	—	—	—	—
			Excess	331,097	—	606,525	—	18,396	—	—	—	—
			Average	87,774	—	151,631	—	4,599	—	55,363	—	—
			4 Years									
1712	36	7	65,872	148,539	—	248,338	1	6,387	—	17,818	—	—
13	40	4	84,803	179,969	—	308,385	—	9,434	—	38,892	—	—
14	39	9	77,157	180,665	16	273,109	—	34,383	21	20,478	—	—
15	34	—	60,669	173,237	—	137,296	—	7,727	—	31,256	—	—
Average	37	8	682,410	16	16	967,128	1	57,931	21	108,444	72	—
			16	—	—	1	—	21	—	—	—	—
			Excess	682,394	—	967,127	—	57,910	—	—	—	—
			Average	170,598	—	241,782	—	14,477	—	27,111	18	—
			4 Years									

## ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—Continued.

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Exon College.		Bounties. £.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease and Beans.	
	Exports.	Imports.		Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.		
s.	d.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1716	37	11	75,876	—	274,862	—	12,434	—	41,693	—	—	—	—
17	36	1	25,637	—	307,538	—	9,254	62	23,488	—	—	327	—
18	30	8	74,381	—	428,399	—	14,879	21	49,723	—	—	—	—
19	27	8	130,533	20	417,118	—	11,982	300	45,689	—	—	—	—
Average	33	1	306,427	20	1,427,917	—	48,549	383	160,593	—	—	327	—
			20				383						
			306,407				48,166						
			76,602		356,979		12,041		40,148			82	
	4 Years Average												

1720	29	3	68,032	84,343	—	301,854	252	20,259	2	49,594	—	—	—
21	29	8	64,375	82,748	—	396,277	445	14,113	—	70,500	50	—	—
22	28	5	91,304	178,915	—	426,515	—	6,229	—	42,812	—	—	I
23	27	5	86,558	158,082	—	354,278	—	1,168	I12	12,739	—	—	150
24	29	3	77,935	247,162	148	251,198	10	1,137	61,630	23,450	—	—	10
Average	28	10		751,250 148	148	1,733,122 707	707	42,906	61,744 42,906	199,095	50	161	50
			Excess	751,102		1,732,415		18,838				111	
5 Years			Average	150,220		346,483		3,768		39,819		22	
1725	38	4	107,524	211,175	12	335,751	—	10,433	2,152	20,872	—	—	23
26	36	4	83,308	143,626	—	386,738	—	5,135	20	20,170	—	—	—
27	33	2	48,756	31,030	—	80,367	100	9,247	17	9,604	—	—	—
28	43	1	28,296	39,35	74,574	212,086	11,745	2,754	70,070	284	42,206	—	—
29	37	—	18,945	18,993	40,315	144,571	17,202	9,409	184,092	1,477	132,046	—	—
Average	37	7		408,759 114,901	114,901	1,159,513 29,047	29,047	36,978	256,351 36,978	52,407	174,252 52,407	39	23
			Excess	293,858		1,130,466		219,373			121,845	16	
5 Years			Average	58,771		226,093		43,855		24,369		3	



1735	34	—	100,038	155,280	9	304,293	—	29,762	6,439	1,533	—	—	1
36	31	10	50,562	118,218	18	222,554	—	17,815	268	1,311	—	—	—
37	30	—	102,511	466,071	32	145,528	1	4,651	7	7,889	—	—	2
38	28	1	177,737	588,284	3	291,625	5	7,225	21	36,325	—	—	2
39	30	5	145,702	285,492	23	271,009	1	9,043	32	30,294	—	—	24
Average	30	10		1,613,345	85	1,235,009	7	68,496	6,767	77,352			29
				85		7		6,767					
			Excess	1,613,260		1,235,002		61,729					
			5 Years Average	322,652		247,000		12,346		15,470			6
1740	40	—	39,366	54,391	5,469	176,988	121	3,403	1,846	8,980	1,090	—	27
(c)	36	11	18,580	45,417	7,540	129,995	15,506	1,362	120,544	7,622	11,012	—	3,835
42	26	10	90,640	295,698	1	232,345	1	8,618	25	63,626	36	10	13
43	19	8	131,459	375,979	3	293,991	—	15,870	13	88,634	—	50	8
44	19	8	116,896	234,274	2	278,042	—	9,192	68	74,567	—	—	5
Average	28	7		1,005,759	13,015	1,111,361	15,628	38,445	122,496	243,429	12,138	60	3,888
				13,015		15,628			38,445	12,138			60
			Excess	992,744		1,095,733			84,051	231,291			3,828
			5 Years Average	198,549		219,147			16,810	46,258			766

## ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—Continued.

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Exon College.	Bounties. £.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease and Beans.	
			Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
	s.	d.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1745	21	9	325,340	6	337,074	—	40,507	5	84,126	13	—	—
46	30	10	131,105	—	441,745	—	20,203	—	45,782	4	—	—
47	27	7	270,491	—	489,021	—	7,142	14	96,728	13	—	—
48	29	3	545,240	6	462,371	—	12,146	—	104,143	14	—	—
49	29	3	631,007	382	487,760	40	25,114	—	106,425	9	—	—
Average	27	9	1,903,183	394	2,217,971	40	105,112	19	437,204	53	—	—
			394		40		19					
		Excess	1,902,789		2,217,931		105,093					
	5 Years	Average	380,558		443,586		21,019		87,441			11



1750	25	8	262,583	950,483	280	605,519	—	12,366	20	97,290	—	19
51	30	5	154,905	662,957	3	307,478	—	6,342	2,212	71,048	—	14
52	33	1	186,218	430,117	—	397,038	56	1,590	24,300	77,847	120	223
53	35	4	219,503	300,754	—	346,540	—	11,114	7,049	24,850	—	17
54	27	5	756,781	756,781	201	384,905	—	11,090	56,832	43,915	—	15
Average	30	5		3,101,092	484	2,041,480	56	43,127	80,541	295,936	120	288
				484		56			43,127			120
			Excess	3,100,608		2,041,424			37,414			168
	5	Years	Average	620,122		408,285			7,483	59,187		34
1755	26	9	164,520	237,466	—	381,659	—	3,168	2,886	43,446	—	13
56	35	9	109,584	102,752	5	269,950	5	5,490	54,758	29,969	1,695	18
(d) 57	47	5	22,658	11,545	141,562	63,454	5,943	4,693	9,360	964	7,862	2,574
58	39	6	3,752	9,234	20,353	11,419	9,915	1,831	33,622	—	365	306
59	31	6	53,818	227,641	162	208,797	42	6,937	1,460	41,509	32	24
Average	36	2		588,638	162,082	935,279	15,905	22,119	102,086	115,888	9,922	2,935
				162,082		15,905			22,119	9,922		32
			Excess	426,556		919,374			79,967	105,966		2,903
	5	Years	Average	85,311		183,875			15,993	21,193		581

## ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—Continued.

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Her Majesty's College.	Bounties.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease and Beans.	
			Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
	<i>s. d.</i>	£.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1760	28 10	118,249	39,614	3	291,150	—	14,496	4	53,174	—	—	5
61	23 11	153,615	441,956	—	413,891	—	11,290	58	57,982	—	—	15
62	30 11	128,985	295,385	56	423,064	942	15,992	17,400	28,629	—	—	34
63	32 2	152,713	429,538	72	215,681	3,228	3,042	234,899	12,951	—	—	49
64	36 11	149,608	396,857	1	246,891	5,110	3,952	134,772	27,746	—	—	48
Average	30 7		1,957,350	132	1,590,677	9,280	48,772	387,133	180,482	—	—	151
			132		9,280			48,772				
		Excess	1,957,218		1,581,397			338,361				
		5 Years Average	391,444		316,279			67,672	36,096			30

(e) 1765	42	8	33,935	167,126	104,547	251,927	4,611	12,382	108,577	26,295	5	—	250
(f) 66	38	4	114,206	164,939	11,020	95,115	3,736	11,633	230,639	6,045	140	25,062	1,973
(g) 67	51	—	8,116	5,071	497,905	18,700	74,364	10,605	249,163	53	65,757	16,052	20,231
(h) 68	47	10	238	7,433	349,268	6,587	20,481	12,104	194,743	150	57,879	13,982	26,809
(i) 69	36	2	10	49,892	4,378	39,825	221	13,292	109,466	21	71	16,160	137
Average	43	2		394,461	967,118	412,154	103,413	60,016	892,588	32,564	123,852	71,256	49,400
					394,461	103,413			60,016		32,564	49,400	
			Excess	—	572,657	308,741			832,572		91,288	21,856	
		5 Years	Average	—	114,531	61,748			166,514		18,258	4,371	

ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND, — *Continued.*

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Exon College.		Prices of middling Wheat according to Mr. Cathers' Wood's Tables.		Bounties.	Wheat and Flour		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease & Beans.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.		Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
(k) 1770	38	9	—	—	£.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
(l) 71	45	1	47	2	14,770	75,444	34	170,409	29	28,852	124,444	642	—	19,514	18
(m) 72	52	2	50	8	6,170	10,089	2,510	34,198	228	35,238	212,327	—	2,179	17,053	131
(n) 73	52	7	51	—	5	6,959	25,474	14,031	3,068	23,599	106,820	—	4,799	17,096	490
74	49	—	52	8	13	7,637	56,857	2,475	63,916	18,777	329,454	—	9,255	15,181	61,116
Average	47	6	48	1	3,078	15,928	289,149	2,911	171,508	16,433	399,499	2,260	41,427	13,567	24,591
						116,062	374,024	224,024	238,749	122,894	1,172,544	2,902	57,660	82,411	86,346
						—	116,062	224,024	224,024	—	122,894	2,902	—	—	82,411
					Excess	—	257,962	14,725	14,725	—	1,049,650	—	54,758	—	3,935
					Average	—	51,592	2,945	2,945	—	209,930	—	10,952	—	787

(c) 1775	47	5	48	4	7,888	91,037	560,988	51,414	139,451	36,185	384,942	2,722	33,574	19,349	44,452
76	37	11	38	2	50,956	210,664	20,578	136,114	8,499	34,987	378,566	10,999	3,415	56,037	38,843
77	43	6	45	6	43,240	87,686	233,323	142,725	7,981	36,614	366,446	946	18,454	47,156	63,829
78	39	1	42	—	39,796	141,070	106,394	103,930	42,714	5,543	201,170	1,706	9,327	37,675	57,933
79	32	2	33	8	51,345	222,261	5,039	85,777	7,068	22,286	348,511	3,199	1,693	44,593	43,745
Average	40	—	41	6	—	752,718	926,322	519,960	205,730	176,915	1,679,635	19,572	66,463	204,810	248,802
							752,718	205,730			176,915		19,572		204,810
					Excess	—	173,604	314,230			1,502,720		46,891		43,992
					Average	—	34,721	62,846			300,544		9,378		8,798
(p) 1780	38	4	35	8	70,477	224,059	3,915	191,563	352	27,023	195,224	6,305	—	22,941	25,125
(y) 81	46	7	44	8	29,521	103,021	159,866	150,468	56	41,717	109,446	2,701	10,743	19,344	17,753
82	47	7	47	10	37,854	145,152	80,695	127,744	13,592	23,317	38,562	4,003	—	26,128	8,558
83	48	2	52	8	7,232	51,943	584,183	54,065	144,926	11,826	228,942	3,362	81,295	12,960	31,614
84	47	9	48	10	21,680	89,288	216,947	66,889	77,182	13,511	266,998	6,731	24,779	10,976	45,816
Average	45	8	45	11	—	613,463	1,045,606	590,729	236,108	117,394	839,172	23,105	116,817	92,349	128,866
							613,463	236,108			117,394		23,105		92,349
					Excess	—	432,143	354,621			721,778		93,712		36,517
					Average	—	86,429	70,924			144,356		18,742		7,303

## ENGLAND AND SCOTLAND.—Continued.

Years.	Prices of middling Wheat per Winchester Quarter, from the Account kept in the Audit-book of Exon College.		Prices of middling Wheat according to Mr. Catherwood's Tables.		Bounties.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and Malt.		Oats and Oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease & Beans.	
	s.	d.	s.	d.		Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
			£.			Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1785	42	8	44,567	41	10	132,685	110,863	166,448	67,212	25,273	274,089	13,163	28,761	15,904	16,813
86	37	6	52,591	38	10	205,466	51,463	111,598	62,374	19,293	478,473	6,736	3,643	15,904	16,813
87	40	8	49,025	41	2	120,536	59,339	135,089	43,244	17,098	512,004	12,683	7,054	18,260	35,709
88	43	10	44,517	45	—	82,971	148,710	212,811	11,479	14,418	413,827	31,220	—	15,135	42,884
89	49	11	77,448	51	2	140,014	112,656	345,685	11,128	33,283	437,594	40,151	14,845	29,644	10,902
Average	42	11	681,672	43	7	483,031	483,031	971,631	195,437	109,365	2,115,987	103,953	54,303	95,252	106,699
			483,031					195,437		109,365		54,303		95,252	95,252
			198,641					776,194		2,006,622		49,650		11,447	11,447
Five Years					Average	39,728		155,239		401,324		9,930		2,289	

(r) 1790	49 11	53 2	10,174	30,892	222,557	50,966	29,718	14,290	786,546	47	21,682	17,576	43,094
	43 10	47 —	7,169	70,626	469,056	41,590	61,134	16,498	836,736	3,528	56,378	13,707	14,726
	41 10	42 4	75,881	300,805	22,786	47,541	118,526	24,628	1,008,750	16,151	13,027	17,285	43,254
(s) 93	46 7	48 4	7,030	78,789	500,572	3,447	147,169	17,380	722,527	512	55,592	14,352	48,273
	47 5	51 4	6,290	152,202	328,446	9,296	128,568	14,436	862,979	1,920	24,472	10,800	130,612
Average	45 11	48 5		633,314	1,543,417	152,840	485,115	87,232	4,217,538	22,158	171,151	73,720	279,959
			Excess	—	633,314	152,840	152,840		87,232		22,158		73,720
			Average	—	910,103	332,275	332,275		4,130,306		148,993		206,239
				—	182,021	66,455	66,455		826,061		29,799		41,248
(t) 1795	72 3	74 5	25	16,920	318,104	6,416	18,071	5,988	460,378	277	24,039	14,550	36,071
(u) 96	71 1	77 3	50	21,809	889,003	13,099	40,032	10,845	801,373	122	164,453	10,725	67,917
(v) 97	55 8	52 9	63	51,470	462,579	13,089	64,198	20,040	609,120	108	8,258	11,300	35,212
	48 7	49 7	Nil.	55,409	396,941	15,075	116,484	25,037	773,995	680	6,925	19,507	34,010
(y) 99	66 4	66 10	Nil.	37,397	466,208	41,386	19,537	19,280	529,540	40	22,051	11,818	13,550
Average	62 9	64 2		183,005	2,532,835	89,065	258,322	81,190	3,174,406	1,227	225,726	67,900	186,760
			Excess	—	183,005	89,065	89,065		81,190		1,227		67,900
			Average	—	2,349,830	169,257	169,257		3,093,216		224,499		118,860
				—	469,966	33,851	33,851		618,643		44,899		23,772



The average Price of middling *British* Wheat, taken from Mr. *Catherwood's* Tables, from the 26th of *September* 1799, to the 26th *September* 1800, (z)

			s.	d.	
In <i>England</i> , was	—	—	106	—	per Quarter.
In <i>Scotland</i>	—	—	83	4	per Quarter.

---

The average Price of middling *British* Wheat, calculated from the Accounts kept in the Audit-book of *Eton* College, and taken at *Lady-Day* and *Michaelmas* 1800,

			s.	d.	
Was	—	—	112	7	per Quarter, <i>Winchester</i> .

---

(a) 1699. The export of corn was prohibited, for one year, by 10th *William* 3. ch. 3.—The bounties were suspended, from 9th *February* 1699, to 29th *September* 1700, by the 11th *William* 3. ch. 1.

(b) 1709. By 8th *Anne*, ch. 2. the export of corn was prohibited, before the 29th *September* 1710, with a power to the Queen to allow export sooner.

(c) 1741. By 14th *Geo.* 2. ch. 2. the export of corn, flour, &c. was prohibited, before the 25th *December* 1741, with the same power to the King to allow export sooner.—By the 14th *Geo.* 2. ch. 7. power was given to the judge of the bills, in the Court of Session, to allow import of corn, &c. or suspend the same, in time of dearth and scarcity in *Scotland*.

(d) 1757. By 30th *Geo.* 2. ch. 1. the export of corn, malt, meal, flour, &c. was prohibited, before the 25th *December* 1757.—Continued by the 31st *Geo.* 2. ch. 1.; and further continued by 32d *Geo.* 2. ch. 2.—The prohibition was taken off by the 32d *Geo.* 2. ch. 8.

(e)

(*e*) 1765. By 5th *Geo.* 3. ch. 32. the King was enabled to prohibit the export of wheat, wheaten flour, bread, &c. during the recess of Parliament.—By the 5th *Geo.* 3. ch. 31. the duties on the corn imported were discontinued for a time, and the bounty on wheat and wheaten flour was also discontinued.

(*f*) 1766. By 6th *Geo.* 3. ch. 3. the import of corn and grain from the colonies was allowed, for a limited time, duty free; by 6th *Geo.* 3. ch. 4. the import of oats was allowed, for a limited time, duty free; by the 6th *Geo.* 3. ch. 5. the export of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, &c. was prohibited for a limited time.

(*g*) 1767. By the 7th *Geo.* 3. ch. 3. the export of corn, grain, malt, flour, bread, &c. was prohibited for a limited time.—By 7th *Geo.* 3. ch. 4, 5, 8, 11, 30. the import of wheat, &c. was allowed for a limited time, duty free.—By 7th *Geo.* 3. ch. 7. all persons were indemnified for executing the embargo on ships laden with wheat, dated 26th *September* 1767.

(*h*) 1768. By 8th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the prohibition on the export was continued for a further limited time; and by ch. 2, and 3. the importation of several sorts of grain was allowed.

(*i*) 1769. By 9th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the prohibition of export was further continued for a limited time.

(*k*) 1770. By the 10th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the prohibition of export was further continued, for a limited time.

(*l*) 1771. By 11th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the prohibition of export was further continued, for a limited time.

(*m*) 1772. By 12th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the prohibition of export was further continued, for a limited time.—By ch. 32. the free importation of rice was permitted, for a limited time.—By ch. 33. the free importation of wheat, &c. was permitted for a limited time.

(*n*) 1773. By 13th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the free importation of wheat, &c. was permitted for a limited time.—By ch. 2. the free importation of wheat, &c. from *America* was permitted for a limited time.—By ch. 3. the prohibition to export wheat, &c. was continued for a limited time.

(*o*) 1775. By 15th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the importation of maize was permitted, on a low duty.

(*p*) 1780. By 20th *Geo.* 3. ch. 31. half the bounty was allowed on the exportation of corn in neutral ships.

(*q*) 1781. By 21st *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. the importation on the low duty of wheat, &c. was permitted for a limited time.—By ch. 53. the King was enabled to permit, for a limited time, the free importation of wheat, &c. into certain counties of *Scotland*.—By ch. 81. the payment of bounty on the exportation of wheat was suspended for a limited time.

(*r*) 1790. By 30th *Geo.* 3. ch. 1. all persons who had acted under orders of Council of the 23d *December* 1789, and 2d *June* 1790, respecting the importation and exportation of corn, were indemnified.

(*s*) 1793. By 23d *Geo.* 3. ch. 3. all persons who had acted under an order of Council of 9th *November* 1792, respecting the importation and exportation of corn, were indemnified.

(*t*) 1795. By 35th *Geo.* 3. ch. 4. the King was enabled, till the expiration of six weeks after the commencement of the next session of Parliament, to permit the free importation, and prohibit the exportation of wheat, &c.

(*u*) 1796. By 36th *Geo.* 3. ch. 3. the free importation of wheat, &c. was allowed, and the exportation prohibited, until the expiration of six weeks after the commencement

commencement of the next session.—By ch. 21. bounties were allowed on the importation of wheat, &c. to *September 30, 1796.*

(x) 1797. By 37th *Geo. 3.* ch. 7. the stat. 36th *Geo. 3.* ch. 3. was continued, until the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

(y) 1799. By 39th *Geo. 3.* ch. 87. the regulations of 36th *Geo. 3.* ch. 3. were further continued until the expiration of six weeks from the commencement of the next session of Parliament.

(z) 1800. By 40th *Geo. 3.* ch. 29. bounties were granted on the importation of wheat, &c. till 15th *October 1800.*—By ch. 58. the King was enabled to prohibit the exportation of wheat, &c. and permit the free importation thereof, until forty days after the commencement of the next session.

1870  
The first of the year  
was a very dry one  
and the crops were  
very poor. The  
winter was also very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The spring was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The summer was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The autumn was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The winter was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The spring was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The summer was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The autumn was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.  
The winter was very  
dry and the crops  
were very poor.

## P R E F A C E

TO THE

## PRESENT EDITION.

**I**N the present state of this Country, when the prices of wheat and of all other sorts of grain are so high, the Public will naturally wish to see the representation made to the King, by the lords of the committee of His Majesty's most honourable privy council, on the 8th March 1790, as it contains the principles on which many of the regulations in the present corn laws are founded, as well as some account of former systems, and of the laws relating to them. This representation was printed in the year 1790, by order of both houses of parliament; but it is probable that many of the copies then delivered to the members, may have been lost or mislaid; it has on that account been thought proper to reprint it. A lapse of ten years since this representation was presented to the two houses of parliament, and the events which have happened during that interval, may have furnished reasons to justify many in not entertaining the same favourable sentiments of those principles, with which

they were at first received by the public, and which induced the legislature, after full consideration, to adopt most of them: It may now perhaps be thought no longer safe to rest so important a concern, as the trade in the most necessary article of life, solely on those principles. Whatever may be the opinion of the public on this most interesting and delicate subject, the present re-publication will be so far of use, that it will bring those principles again under their view, and thereby enable every one to form a correct judgment concerning them. It may not however be improper to observe, that in this Representation, the public were first informed by authority, that the quantity of wheat produced in the kingdom, was not then, and had not been for several preceding years, equal to the consumption of its inhabitants\*; and consequently, that the price of it had for some time continued to advance, though in a former period, that is in the first fifty years at least of the present century, the quantity of wheat produced in the kingdom, had been far more than equal, upon an average, to the consumption of its inhabitants, so that the prices had then been generally low, and great quantities of it had been exported to foreign countries, and large sums paid out of the public revenue, to encourage such exportation.

25th October 1800.

Note. \* *The period when the importations of wheat into this kingdom first began to exceed, on an average, the exportations of wheat from this kingdom, was between the years 1765 and 1769, probably in the year 1767. The importation of oats, into this kingdom, began to exceed the exportation of oats from this kingdom, at a much earlier period.*



## P R E F A C E

TO THE

FIRST EDITION.

**I**N order to understand the better the following Representation on the corn trade and corn laws of this country, it is proper to premise, that in a former Representation to His Majesty, presented about the middle of last December, it was shewn, that the price of wheat, taken on an average from the several markets of England, was at that time fifty-two shillings per quarter—That the price of wheat, as taken from the market of Amsterdam, which is a free market for corn, and affords therefore the best criterion of the medium price of Europe, was, by the lowest estimation, ten shillings higher per quarter—That the prices of corn in other foreign countries, were much higher than in ordinary years—That the old stock of wheat was nearly exhausted in most parts, by the demands of the foregoing year—That bounties were given by the municipality of Paris, on wheat brought into the said city; and that bounties were paid, as well by the government of France, as by the municipalities of many of the great towns situated upon the coast, on wheat imported therein—That in Spain, all duties on corn imported were taken off, and that bounties were given on wheat and Indian corn imported into that kingdom—That the export of wheat had been prohibited from several

of the northern countries, from whence great quantities of that article are usually drawn, for the supply of the southern countries of Europe—That, in expectation of a scarcity, many governments had formed magazines for the sustenance of their subjects; and that contracts had been made with merchants of England, for the delivery of American wheat at sixty-two and sixty-five shillings per quarter, and for the delivery of American flour at sixty shillings per sack, on its arrival in the Channel.

It was also shewn, that from a failure in the execution of an act passed in the last session of parliament, there was at that time no law in force, sufficient to prevent the exportation of corn, whatever the price thereof might be, or to permit the importation upon low duties, if it should be found necessary.

From a due consideration of all these circumstances, the privy council then advised his Majesty to issue an order in council for preventing the exportation, and allowing the importation, of several sorts of corn, until the sense of parliament could be taken on this subject, in order to insure to his Majesty's subjects a continuance of the advantage they then enjoyed, of being supplied with corn at a much cheaper rate than it could be obtained in most of the neighbouring countries, and thereby to execute and fulfil what the privy council conceived to be the real intentions of the legislature, for the benefit of the people of this kingdom.

As soon as the parliament met, they shewed their approbation of this measure, by passing a law for preventing the exportation, and allowing the importation, of corn, in the manner directed by the before-mentioned order in council, till the 29th of September next.

---

---

REPRESENTATION, &c.

---

At the COUNCIL CHAMBER, Whitehall, the 8th of  
March 1790.

By the Right Honourable the Lords of the  
Committee of Privy Council, appointed for  
the consideration of all matters relating to  
Trade and Foreign Plantations.

(L.S.)

To the KING's Most Excellent MAJESTY.

May it please Your Majesty,

THE Committee of Your Majesty's most honour-  
able privy council, appointed for the consideration  
of all matters relating to trade and foreign plantations,  
humbly offered to Your Majesty in a former representa-  
tion their advice on such measures as, in their judgment,  
were necessary, in order to apply an immediate remedy  
to the evils likely to arise from the difficulties, which had  
occurred in the execution of the laws of this kingdom,  
made for regulating the exportation and importation of  
corn, and to preserve Your Majesty's subjects from being  
exposed to that distress for want of this indispensable ar-  
ticle of subsistence, which has of late been severely felt  
in several neighbouring countries; but the committee  
having in their investigation of this subject been led to

consider the state of the corn laws, and the trade of corn in general, and finding that some further provisions are wanting to amend and improve the said laws, they presume to lay this Second Representation before Your Majesty, and therein to submit to Your Majesty's consideration their sentiments on such amendments and alterations in the subsisting laws, as appear to them to be expedient.

The committee thought this subject the more deserving their attention, as they find, by an account\* laid before them, of the quantity of corn imported and exported during the last eighteen years, that this kingdom, which, in former times used to produce more corn than was necessary for the consumption of its inhabitants, has of late years been under the necessity of depending on the produce of foreign countries for a part of its supply.

Barley is the only article, of which this country produces more, at present, than it consumes. We had formerly a large and profitable trade in the export of corn;—upon an average of nineteen years, from 1746 to 1765, the corn exported from this country is supposed to have produced a net profit of not less than £.651,000 per annum;—but in the eighteen years from 1770 to 1788†, by setting the value of the corn imported against that of the corn exported, and deducting the amount of the duties received thereon from the bounties paid during the same period, it will appear that this country has upon an average sustained a loss in this trade of £. 291,000 per annum, which sum it has annu-

\* *Vide Appendix, No. 1.*

† *Vide Appendix, No. 1.*

ally paid to foreign nations for the supply of its inhabitants.

The following Table will shew the quantity of each sort of corn exported annually from England, upon an average of 19 years, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive: and also the quantity of each sort of corn exported annually from England and Scotland, upon an average of 18 years, from 1770 to 1788 inclusive; with the bounty in each period paid thereon.

Vide Appendix, No. 2.	19 years average, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive, from England *.	18 years average, from 1770 to 1788 †, inclusive, from England & Scotland.
	Quarters.	Quarters.
Wheat and wheatmeal - - -	359,810	108,247
Barley and malt - - - - -	306,974	99,453
Oats and oatmeal - - - - -	20,702	25,802
Rye - - - - -	47,677	6,041
Annual bounty paid thereon	£. 138,677. 3. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	£. 32,968. 6. 4 $\frac{1}{2}$
Bounty paid on corn exported from Great Britain in 1788 - - - - -	£. 45,182. 12. 3 $\frac{1}{2}$	

Note. \* The accounts in Scotland of imports and exports were not kept by the Commissioners of the Customs there before the year 1755, in such a manner as to enable the Committee to obtain an accurate account of the corn imported and exported to and from that part of the United Kingdom during the first of these periods.

Note. † An account of the quantity of the several sorts of corn exported and imported from and to Great Britain in the year ending the 5th January 1790, has not yet been obtained by the Committee, as the accounts from Scotland have not been hitherto transmitted.—But the bounty on corn exported from England only, in the course of this year, amounted to £. 76,551. 16 s. 1 $\frac{1}{4}$  d. which is considerably more than double the bounty paid on all corn exported from England and Scotland on an average of the eighteen preceding years, and proves how great a quantity of corn during the course of last year was carried out of the kingdom, before the prices of the several sorts exceeded the prices at or below which export is by law permitted.

The following Table will shew the quantity of each sort of corn imported annually into England, upon an average of 19 years, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive : and also, the quantity of each sort of corn imported annually into England and Scotland, upon an average of 18 years, from 1770 to 1788, inclusive.

Vide Appendix, No. 3.	19 years average, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive, into England.		18 years average, from 1770 to 1788, inclusive, into England and Scotland.
	Quarters.		Quarters.
Wheat * - - -	12,654	Wheat and flour	150,905
Barley - - -	1,500	Barley and malt	48,048
Oats and oatmeal	30,449	Oats and oatmeal	291,405
Rye - - - -	502	Rye - - - -	15,577
Beans and pease	None.	Beans and pease	31,683
Annual duties } paid thereon }	£. 1,569. 8. 4½	Annual duties } paid thereon }	£. 7,620. 8. 3½

Note to the present edition. \* No wheat-flour, or malt, were imported into England in the 19 years from 1746 to 1765, and in several of these years there was no importation into England of several of the before-mentioned sorts of grain.

In the first edition there was inserted in this place an account of the corn exported and imported from and to Ireland for ten years, ending the 25th March 1789; but as this account throws no light on the question, in its present state, it is here omitted. For the same reason are omitted in the Appendix, two accounts relating to the trade of corn in Ireland.



The committee hope, that a change so extraordinary in a concern of so much importance, is only to be imputed to an increased population; to the numbers of horses and other cattle, which we now breed and maintain more than formerly; and to that opulence which has generally diffused itself amongst all ranks of men, from the extension of our trade and manufactures, and which has occasioned an increased consumption of all the necessaries of life;—for there can be no reason to suppose either that the agriculture of the country has of late declined, or that, for so long a continuance of years, the seasons can have been uniformly unfavourable.

The committee are further impressed with the importance of this subject, and are the more induced to think that it requires immediate attention, as from accounts they have received of the produce and consumption of corn in most European countries, they are inclined to believe, that in ordinary years the produce of corn in Europe is not more than equal to the consumption of its inhabitants; and that whenever the crops fail in any degree, the deficiency can only be supplied from the harvest of America.

The lords of the committee are of opinion, that the principles which are best adapted for the conduct and regulation of other trades, cannot in every respect be applied to this of corn: other trades in general produce only the comforts and conveniencies of life;—this has for its object an article that is indispensably necessary for subsistence: If they at any time decline, some individuals may be affected in their fortunes, and the public can only suffer a temporary loss and inconvenience;—but a mistaken speculation in the trade of corn may produce dearth—the consequence of which will always be general distress, and sometimes popular commotions: so that in the management of this trade, government ought ever to have in view, not only the prosperity of the trade itself, and the interests of those concerned in it, but the subsistence of the people.

The



The best market for corn in every country is the home market; and the circulation of it within every kingdom ought to be free, so that the surplus of one part may supply the deficiencies of the other, and that the price throughout the whole country may be brought as near as possible to a level.

To facilitate the circulation of corn, this kingdom enjoys peculiar advantages, which arise from its situation as an island, from the number of its canals, and the excellence of its roads; and by these means the populous and manufacturing counties in some parts of the island can draw the necessary supplies from other parts, which are less populous, but more productive of corn.

In other countries magazines of corn are formed by their respective governments, or by the principal magistrates of great cities, as a resource in times of scarcity. This country has no such institution—The stores of corn are here deposited in the barns and stacks of wealthy farmers, and in the magazines of merchants and dealers in corn, who ought to be by no means restrained, but rather encouraged in laying up stores of this nature, as, after a deficient crop, they are thereby enabled to divide the inconvenience arising from it as equally as possible through every part of the year; and by checking improvident consumption in the beginning of scarcity, prevent a famine, which might otherwise happen before the next harvest. The inland trade of corn therefore ought to be perfectly free.—This freedom can never be abused—To suppose that there can be a monopoly of so bulky and perishable a commodity dispersed through so many hands over every part of the country, is an idle and vain apprehension. The ancient laws of this kingdom, which by a false policy restrained the inland trade of corn, have in general been repealed. The 15th Cha. II. ch. 7. which does not permit the buying corn to sell again, and the laying it up in granaries, except when the several sorts of corn are below certain prices therein mentioned, is the  
only

only law of this description which will now be found in our statute book, and ought certainly not to remain there any longer.

But to extend the freedom of this trade to an unrestrained export of corn to foreign countries, would, in the opinion of the committee, be productive of the greatest evils; such export might, in a year of general scarcity, exhaust the stock of any kingdom, and deprive its inhabitants of what is necessary for their subsistence, by sending it for the supply of other nations. There is hardly a country in Europe, the government of which, in the course of last year, did not find it necessary to interpose either to retain its own stock wholly for the consumption of its inhabitants, or at least to prevent an unlimited exportation; and, it is singular to observe, what industry and artifice have been employed by the merchants, and even by the ministers of many countries, to break through these restraints, and to draw supplies from their neighbours. The greatest advocates for a free trade in corn with foreign countries, have always cited the practice of Hamburgh, Holland, and particularly of the town of Amsterdam, being free markets for corn, as a proof that no inconvenience would arise to the inhabitants of a country by allowing at all times perfect liberty in the import and export of corn: The senate of Hamburgh, sensible of the imperfection of such a system, have always kept a magazine well stored with every sort of it, to provide for the consumption of their own inhabitants, in cases of emergency: and, in the last year, many towns of Holland thought it necessary to prohibit the export of corn from their own precinct and jurisdiction to other towns within the same province; and the free circulation of it was thereby prevented even in their own country; and the magistrates of Amsterdam, which is the greatest corn market of Europe, though they kept their port open for the importation and exportation of corn, yet, being fearful that the prices would rise so high as to occasion distress to its inhabitants, collected and laid up in  
magazines,

magazines, at the public expence, great quantities of corn, and sold it to the people at reduced prices. And, during the last autumn, if the laws of this country had not restrained the export of corn, and Your Majesty had not providently interposed to carry the intention of the legislature, in this respect, into perfect execution, your Majesty's people would have been deprived of the advantage they now enjoy, of purchasing this necessary article of subsistence at a much cheaper rate than those of any neighbouring nation.

It appears, therefore, that the principles on which our corn laws are founded are in general wise; the two objects they have in view are, first to secure a reasonable price at all times to the farmer, and in the next place to prevent that price being at any time so high as to distress the poor and the manufacturer. With a view to the first of these objects, export is allowed, and even encouraged by a bounty, till the price of wheat arrives at 44s. per quarter; and the import of foreign wheat into this country is restrained by a high duty, till the price of wheat in the home market arrives at 48s. The same policy is observed with respect to other articles of corn.—It is a true observation, that no market will be plentifully supplied with corn, unless some liberty is given of disposing to profit of the surplus, for which there may be no demand; without this liberty the farmer would endeavour so to contrive, as to produce no more corn than could be sold in the home market at a reasonable profit, and his speculations would extend no further; the consequence would be, that he would frequently produce less than the home market would demand, and scarcity must sometimes ensue; for it has been found by experience, that a very small deficiency of crop will raise the price in a very high degree.

It is right, therefore, to allow the export of corn, whenever it is sold under a certain price;—it is not necessary for the committee to offer any thing in justification of that policy,

policy, which commenced at the revolution, of encouraging by bounty this exportation, and which the legislature has thought fit to continue to the present time. Whatever doubts may be entertained by some, of the wisdom of this measure, it cannot surely be thought prudent to alter it at present; for it is a certain fact, that the agriculture of this country has progressively increased and flourished from the time when this bounty was first granted; though it is true, that other causes have been assigned for this improvement—This bounty may be considered as a compensation made to the farmer for the restraints imposed on his trade, in order to ensure subsistence to the people: and it may well be doubted whether the exportation which is necessary to encourage tillage in a degree sufficient for the home supply (as before stated) would take place if this bounty should be withheld.—In all years, and particularly, in those of reasonable plenty, the price of corn is lower in the countries bordering on the Baltic, and in America, than it is in Great Britain.—In the North of Europe corn can be more cheaply raised, because the value of land is less, and the price of labour is lower.—In America, the value of land is greatly less, and from the extent of their farms, they are able to resort to new lands, or to substitute fallows in the place of manure, and can therefore raise corn without this additional expence; and these circumstances more than compensate the higher price of labour in that country.—Without the aid therefore of the bounty, the merchants of the countries before mentioned would be able to under-sell our corn factors in foreign countries; and in consequence thereof, the surplus corn of this kingdom would never find a vent, except in times of general scarcity on the Continent (as of late has been the case) and it is probable that in common years, when, in order to keep up the price at home, some sale in the foreign market is most necessary, very little corn would be exported from Great Britain.

When the price of wheat is from 44*s.* to 48*s.* per quarter, neither the exportation of British wheat, nor the  
importation

importation of foreign on low duties, is allowed; from which it may be inferred, that it is the opinion of the legislature, that between 44s. and 48s. is the medium price at which wheat ought to be sold in the markets of this country, for the encouragement of the farmer on one hand, and the comfortable subsistence of the people on the other. It has been remarked by attentive observers, that in manufacturing towns there is more regularity of conduct, and more productive industry, when corn is not at a price unusually low; but the condition of the country labourer certainly requires, that the price of it should be low, that he may be enabled by his wages to purchase what is necessary for his subsistence—As soon as the price of wheat passes 48s. the legislature have thought it their duty to attend to the necessities of the poor, and to encourage the importation of foreign wheat, by allowing it to be imported at very low duties.

The whole of this system wisely corresponds with those principles by which the corn trade ought to be conducted. The only doubt that can be entertained upon it is, whether the export does not stop before the price is sufficiently high for the encouragement of agriculture, and the interest of the farmer—It is singular that the price at which corn is prohibited to be exported is now lower than it was above a century ago, and that the price, at which foreign corn is permitted to be imported at reduced duties, is now also lower than it was above a century ago; and during this period the prices of the principal sorts of corn, taken upon an average of a number of years, do not appear to have advanced in an equal degree with the prices of many other articles which are of general use, and even of some which are the produce of the farm; and there are those who doubt whether this circumstance has not contributed to make the quantity of corn produced not equal to the consumption, as it is at present.

The policy of our laws has however produced an effect highly advantageous, both to the grower and consumer  
of



of corn, by rendering the vicissitudes of plenty and dearth less frequent than they were formerly, and by making the price of corn more steady and uniform.—The farmer may now at all times depend on a certain reasonable price, and feels that his labour in cultivating his land will not be wholly unprofitable—On the other hand, the poor have no reason to apprehend, as in ancient times, the calamities of dearth and famine.

The committee having now traced the principles, by which in their opinion the corn trade ought to be regulated, and to which our corn laws appear in general to conform, they will proceed to consider in what respects these laws are defective, and what amendments ought to be made to them, so as to make them fully correspond with the principles before stated.

It appears from the provisions of ancient statutes, and particularly from the preamble of Stat. 15 Hen. VI. C. 2. that it was not lawful \* to carry corn out of the realm without the licence of the king ;—By this statute permission was first given to export several sorts of corn out of the realm, whenever the price of each sort was at or below the prices therein mentioned.

By subsequent statutes the export of the different sorts of corn was in like manner allowed, whenever the price of each sort was at or below the prices mentioned in each statute respectively.—The following table, N° 4, will shew what the prices were, at or below which corn was allowed to be exported at different periods, according to the monies of the times.

\* In Maddox's History of the Exchequer, Ch. 14. Sec. 15, there is an account of several amerciaments for exporting corn without licence in very early times.

N<sup>o</sup> 4. PRICES at or below

BY STATUTES,						Wheat.	Rye.
						s. d.	s. d.
15	Hen. VI. c. 2.	-	-	-	Per Q <sup>r</sup>	6 8	—
1	and 2 Ph. and M. c. 5.	-	-	-		6 8	4 —
1	Eliz. c. 11.	-	-	-		6 8	5 —
5	Eliz. c. 5.	-	-	-		10 —	8 —
13	Eliz. c. 13.	-	-	-		When the prices was made by peace.	
35	Eliz. c. 7.	-	-	-		20 —	13 4
1	Ja <sup>s</sup> c. 25.	-	-	-		26 8	15 —
21	Ja <sup>s</sup> c. 28.	-	-	-		32 —	20 —
3	Ch <sup>s</sup> I. c. 4.	-	-	-		The same prices	
12	Cha <sup>s</sup> II. c. 4.	-	-	-		40 —	24 —
15	Cha <sup>s</sup> II. c. 7.	-	-	-		48 —	32 —
1	W <sup>m</sup> and M. stat. 1. c. 12.	-	-	-		No custom, or	
11	and 12 W <sup>m</sup> c. 20.	-	-	-		The subsidy, and	
13	Geo. III. c. 43.	-	-	-		44 —	28 —

Note. The several sorts of corn so exported, during all this time, paid the duty of export, which varied according as the law stood in each period. By the act of tonnage and poundage, 12 Charles II. c. 4. the duty on corn exported was the same whatever the price might be; it was not however high, as corn of every sort was rated at a very low value in the book of rates.

Note.



which Exportation was permitted.

Pease.	Beans.	Oats.	Barley.	Malt.	Beer or Big.	Buck Wheat
s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.		
—	—	—	3 —			
—	—	—	3 —			
4 —	4 —	2 —	3 3	3 3		
8 —	8 —	—	6 8	6 8		

were so reasonable and moderate as that no prohibition the queen or council, or justices of assize, or of the

13 4	13 4	—	12 —	12 —		
15 —	15 —	—	14 —	14 —		
16 —	16 —	—	16 —	16 —		
as in the last act.						
24 —	24 —	16 —	20 —	20 —		
32 —	32 —	13 4	28 —	28 —	—	28
any fee or reward, to be paid on exportation.						
all duties, to cease.						
28 —	28 —	14 —	22 —	—	22	
Malt made of barley, beer, or big, to be governed by those grains respectively.						

Note. The duties on export were taken off by 1st William and Mary c. 12. and by the 11 and 12 William, c. 20. A bounty was likewise given on several sorts of corn exported, by the before-mentioned act of 1st William and Mary, which bounty has been varied by several subsequent statutes. The following Table, No. 5, will shew all the variations made in the bounty on each sort of corn, and the prices according to which it was paid.

N<sup>o</sup> 5. PRICES at and below which

By Statutes,		Wheat.	Rye.	Pease.
		s.	s.	
1st W <sup>m</sup> & M. stat. 1. c. 12.	The price per quarter - - }	48	32 —	—
	Bounty - -	5	3 6	—
5th Anne, c. 8.	{ The price per quarter - }	—	—	—
	Bounty - -	—	—	—
5th Anne, c. 29.	{ The price per quarter - }	{ on malt made of wheat - }	—	—
	Bounty - -	5		
13 Geo. III. c. 43.	The price per quarter - - }	44	28	—
	Bounty - -	5 and on all malt made of wheat.	3	—

It is extraordinary that no one of the before-mentioned statutes, nor any statute till 13th year of Your Majesty's reign, c. 43, enacts any rule for ascertaining the prices, according to which the export should be allowed, or the bounty be paid, though some of them establish regulations for ascertaining the quantity of corn so exported, and the quantity on which the bounty was to be paid.

The officers of the customs, being left without any rule prescribed by law, pursued a method of their own: They obliged the exporter, in making the entry outwards, to swear, that the prices of the corn so entered for exportation did not, on the last market day, exceed the prices at which

certain Bounties were given on Exportation.

Beans.	Oats.	Oatmeal.	Barley.	Malt made of Barley.	Beer or Big.	Buck Wheat
			<i>s. d.</i>	<i>s. d.</i>		
—	—	—	24 —	24 —		
—	—	—	2 6	2 6		
—	<i>s.</i> 15	—	—	—	<i>s. d.</i> 24 —	
—	—	<i>s. d.</i> 2 6 from Scotland.		—	2 6 from Scotland.	
—	—	The same from England as from Scotland.	} —	—	} The same from England as from Scotland.	
—	14	—	22 —	22 —	22 —	
—	2	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6 and also on malt made of beer or big.	

which export was to be allowed, or bounty to be paid; and sometimes they obliged the exporter to produce a certificate to the same effect on the oath of some supposed credible witness—This practice was probably founded on the directions given in the 1st W<sup>m</sup> and Mary, c. 12. for ascertaining the quantity and quality of the corn so exported.

By the before-mentioned statute of 13th year of Your Majesty's reign, it was enacted, that in cases of exportation from the ports of England, the prices of corn should be ascertained according to the methods directed by preceding acts of parliament, as well as by that act, for ascertaining the prices of corn or grain in cases of importation;

tion; and the bounty was to be paid according to prices ascertained in the same manner.—It is proper to observe, that the prices for regulating importation were, according to the 1st Ja' II. ch. 19, ascertained only four times in each year—By the same act of 13th year of Your Majesty's reign, the prices of corn in Scotland, both in cases of exportation and importation, and for the payment of the bounty, were to be ascertained by returns made four times a year, from the sheriffs or stewards depute, or their deputies, on the oaths of two persons qualified in the manner in that act described.

This method of ascertaining the prices being found very inconvenient and detrimental to the export trade of corn, as the prices which were to govern the exportation and the payment of the bounty could be altered only every three months, though the real prices might in the mean time be very much increased or diminished, it was enacted in the next session, by statute of the 14th year of Your Majesty's reign, c. 64, that the prices of corn exported from Great Britain should be regulated and governed by the average prices, at which such corn should be respectively sold in the public market, at or near the port or place from whence such corn was intended to be exported, on the last market day preceding the shipping thereof; and that the respective bounties on each sort of corn should be paid according to such prices.

But even in this act no method was prescribed for ascertaining what these prices were, so that the officers of the customs were still obliged to have recourse to the method, that had before been adopted and practised by themselves—But this last-mentioned act, as far as relates to the port of London, and the ports of the counties of Kent and Essex, was repealed by stat. of 21st year of Your Majesty's Reign c. 50, and a new mode of ascertaining the prices in those ports was therein enacted; an officer created by that act, and called *inspector of returns of corn*, was directed to receive from the several factors of the Corn Exchange an account of the quantity of each sort of corn they had sold in the course of the preceding week, and of the prices, and the names of the purchasers; and from the prices at which the whole aggregate quantity of each

each sort of corn so respectively sold in the course of that week, he was to compute and form an average price of each sort of corn, and such price was to be taken as the average price during that week, and the import and export of each sort of corn, and the bounty payable thereon, was to be thereby regulated in the port of London, and in the ports of Kent and Essex.

In this state, which was certainly very imperfect with respect to all the ports of Great Britain, except those of London, Kent, and Essex, the law for ascertaining the prices of corn, as far as related to exportation and the payment of the bounty, continued till the passing of the act of last year.

As it appears by some ancient statutes not to have been lawful to carry corn out of the realm without the licence of the king, it may be collected from others that it was generally lawful to import Foreign corn into this kingdom; and from both these circumstances it may justly be inferred, that the legislature in ancient times was more solicitous to provide for the plentiful subsistence of the people, than to encourage tillage within the realm.

By statute 3d Edward IV. c. 7, several sorts of Foreign corn were for the first time prohibited to be imported, till the price of each exceeded the respective prices mentioned in the said statute.

This statute continued in force till 21st Ja<sup>r</sup> I. when it was repealed, and the importation of Foreign corn was again generally permitted; but corn so imported was always subject to a duty, which varied according to the law in each period.

By 12 Cha<sup>r</sup> II. c. 4: the importation of Foreign corn first began to be regulated in the manner that subsists at present, that is, by imposing high duties when the price of each sort of corn did not exceed certain prices, and low duties when it exceeded the said prices.

The following Table, N<sup>o</sup> 6, will shew the prices at which corn was at any time prohibited to be imported, and at what prices the high and low duties on importation respectively took place, and what was the amount of those high and low duties upon each sort of corn at each period respectively.

## N° 6. PRICES at or under

By Statutes,		Wheat.
3 Edw. IV. c. 2. - repealed by 21 Ja. 1.	- - - - - per Qua'	6' 8
13 Geo. III. c. 43. -	- - - - - per Boll	—

## PRICES at which certain high or low

By Statutes.		Wheat.
12 Cha' II. c. 4. - -	Not exceeding - per Qua'	44' —
	Duty - - - -	40 —
	Exceeding the above prices, Duty - - - -	6 8
15 Cha' II. c. 7. - -	Not exceeding - - - -	48 —
	Duty - - - -	5 4
	Exceeding the last-mentioned prices,	
22 Cha' II. c. 13, -	Not exceeding - - - -	53 4
	Duty - - - -	16 —
	Exceeding the above prices, but not exceeding - -	80 —
	Duty - - - -	8 —
	Exceeding the last-mentioned prices,	
13 Geo. III. c. 43. -	At or above - - - -	48 —
	Duty - - - -	— 6 <sup>d</sup>
	D <sup>o</sup> on wheat flour per cwt.	— 2
	Not exceeding the last-mentioned	
15 Geo. III. c. 1. - -	- - - - -	When bar- at one
27 Geo. III. c. 13. - (Consolidating Act.)	Under - - - - per qua'	48 —
	Duty - - - -	24 3
	At or above.	
	Duty - - - -	— 6

which Importation was prohibited.

Rye.	Peafe.	Beans.	Oats.	Oatmeal.	Barley.	Malt.	Beer or Big.	Buck Wheat.
4 <sup>s</sup> —	—	—	—	—	3 —			
—	—	—	—	16 Into Scot- land.				

Duties on Importation were to take place.

Rye.	Peafe.	Beans.	Oats.	Oatmeal.	Barley.	Malt.	Beer or Big.	Buck Wheat.
36 <sup>s</sup> —	—	28 <sup>s</sup> —	—	—	28 <sup>s</sup> —	28 <sup>s</sup> —		
26 8	—	26 8	—	—	26 8	26 8		
5 —	—	5 —						
32 —	32 —	32 —	13 4	—	28 —	28 —	—	28 —
4 —	4 —	4 —	1 4	—	2 8	2 8	—	2 —
the low duties imposed by 12 Cha <sup>s</sup> II. ch. 4.								
40 —	40 —	40 —	16 —	—	32 —	32 —	—	32 —
16 —	16 —	16 —	5 4	—	16 —	16 —	—	16 —

When rye, peafe, beans, oats, barley, malt, or buck wheat exceed those prices, then they are to pay a duty as before this act—further 5 per cent. was laid on French or pearl barley.

the low duties imposed by 12 Cha<sup>s</sup> II. ch. 4.

32 —	32 —	32 —	16 —	—	24 —	—	4 —
— 3	— 3	— 3	— 2	—	— 2	—	— 2

prices, the high duties imposed by 12 Cha<sup>s</sup> II. ch. 4.

ley is imported at 2<sup>d</sup> duty, Indian corn or maife may be imported penny.

32 —	32 —	32 —	16 —	—	24 —	—	24 —
22 —	18 4	22 —	6 7	—	22 —	—	22 —
— 3	— 3	— 3	— 2	—	— 2	—	— 2



Till the first year of James II. no rule had been enacted for ascertaining the prices, according to which the high or low duties on corn imported were to take place; but as it was then found by experience, that great quantities of corn had been imported, without paying the proper duties, it was enacted by statute 1 James II. ch. 19, That the justices, at their Michaelmas and Easter session, by the oaths of two or more persons, not being dealers, and by such other ways and means as to them should seem fit, should examine and determine the common market prices of middling English corn, as the same was commonly bought and sold in the counties where any foreign corn might be imported, and certify the same to the chief officer of the customs at the port where the importation might be, and the duty on foreign corn imported was to be paid according to such certificate; and the same method of ascertaining the prices was to be pursued by the lord mayor and aldermen, in the city of London, in the months of October and April; and by statute of sixth year of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 17. they were to ascertain the prices in like manner in the months of January and July.

The justices in some counties having neglected to send their certificates at the Michaelmas session of 1728, gave occasion to passing statute 2 Geo. II. ch. 18, by which, in order to remedy the past neglect, the justices of those counties were authorized to settle and determine the prices at the next quarter session. And it was further directed, that, in all future cases of like neglect, the collector should be empowered to receive the duties on corn imported according to the lowest prices mentioned in stat. 22 Car. II. ch. 13.

But the mode of ascertaining the prices under stat. 1 James II. ch. 19. having been found, upon further experience, to be ineffectual, a new method was established; and it was enacted by stat. 5 Geo. II. ch. 12, that the justices in every county, where corn is imported, should at every quarter session give in charge to the grand jury to make enquiry and presentment upon their oaths of the common market prices of middling English corn, of the  
respective

respective sorts mentioned in stat. 22 Cha' II. ch. 13; this presentment was to be certified by the justices to the chief officer of the ports where corn is imported, and the duties on foreign corn imported were to be paid according to the prices mentioned in such certificate.

The method however of ascertaining, in the port of London, the prices of corn, as directed by the stat. 1 James II. was not repealed by this act. By this statute all foreign corn once imported was forbid to be exported from any of the ports of England, or even carried coastwise from one port of England to another; but this restraint was not extended to the ports of Scotland.

The statute of the 13th year of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 43, made no alteration in the method of ascertaining the prices for the purposes of importation in the ports of England, but left it as directed by former acts. But with respect to Scotland, it directed that the prices should be ascertained by the sheriffs and stewards depute, or their deputies, in the manner already mentioned.

By statute of 21st year of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 50, a new method of ascertaining the prices in the port of London, and in the ports of Kent and Essex, for regulating the importation of corn, was enacted. It was the same as that which has already been described for regulating the exportation, and payment of the bounty.

In this state the law for ascertaining the prices of corn, for the purpose of regulating the importation thereof, continued till the passing of the act of last year. It was certainly much more perfect, than the mode for ascertaining the prices, that were to regulate the exportation and payment of the bounty; and the legislature appears never till last session to have directed its attention to the prevention of frauds in the exportation of British corn, or in the payment of bounty, in the same degree as to the prevention of frauds in the importation of Foreign corn.

There exists however in the laws of this country another method for ascertaining the prices of the several sorts of corn in this kingdom, though enacted for another purpose. By statute of the 10th year of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 39, intituled, "An act for registering the  
" prices

“ prices at which corn is sold in the several counties of  
 “ Great Britain, and the quantities exported and im-  
 “ ported,” the justices at the quarter session for each  
 county, riding, division, or stewartry, held after the  
 29th of September in every year, are directed to order  
 returns to be made weekly of the prices of wheat, rye,  
 barley, oats, and beans, and of big in Scotland (pease  
 are omitted) from such and so many market towns as  
 they shall think fit, not being less than two, nor more  
 than six, in each county, and to appoint a proper person,  
 being an inhabitant, for the purpose of making such re-  
 turns to an officer created by this act, who was to be  
 appointed by the commissioners of the treasury, and was  
 to receive and publish them in manner hereafter men-  
 tioned. The meal weighers of the city of London are  
 directed to make the like returns of corn sold in the  
 said city. In case the justices neglected to appoint the  
 persons before mentioned, the lords of the treasury were  
 authorized to appoint them; and the persons so appoint-  
 ed were to be paid a sum not exceeding two shillings  
 for each return, upon a certificate from the receiver, that  
 such return had been properly made. And an abstract of  
 all these returns is directed to be published by such re-  
 ceiver once a week in the London Gazette, and to be  
 transmitted four times in every year to the clerk of the  
 peace of each county, and to the lord mayor and alder-  
 men of the city of London.

The committee have examined the receiver of corn  
 returns, appointed under the act, and they find that the  
 provisions of this act have been completely executed in  
 every part of England:—that the justices at their sessions  
 have regularly appointed the persons who make the returns;  
 and that the lords of the treasury have been never under  
 the necessity of exercising the authority vested in them,  
 in case of the neglect of the justices: that the returns  
 are generally made from three to six markets of each  
 county: that the persons making the returns are satis-  
 fied with the allowance of two shillings for each re-  
 turn; and the receiver is of opinion that these returns in  
 general are as carefully made as the prescribed manner of  
 making

making them will admit. The receiver also informed the committee, that from Scotland the returns, immediately after passing the act, were made pretty generally; but that the magistrates have by degrees ceased to execute the law, so that he has received of late no return from that part of the united kingdom, except from Inverary; and the reason, as he believes, is, that the magistrates consider the execution of this act as an unnecessary expence.

The committee have thought fit to state the several regulations of this act, and the manner in which they have been executed, in order to shew that there exists a method of collecting the prices of the several sorts of corn in the markets of this kingdom, which in England continues to be completely executed, and which was executed in Scotland for some time after passing the act, though this act was made for a different purpose than that of regulating the importation or exportation of corn, or the paymsnt of the bounties.—And it was to the averages, formed according to the directions of this act, that Your Majesty found it necessary to resort, when the act of last year failed in its execution, and when You were graciously pleased to make regulations for the importation and exportation of the different sorts of corn by your late orders in council.

The committee will have occasion also to refer to the regulations of this act, in the advice which they shall think it their duty to offer to Your Majesty at the conclusion of this representation.

The committee will proceed next to state the regulations of the act of last year; and they will then consider what additions and amendments should be made to this act, and to the corn laws in general.

This act was made from a conviction that the provisions of former laws for ascertaining the prices of corn were very imperfect, and that great frauds had been committed under them. There can be no doubt of the existence of these frauds, as has been shewn more fully in a former representation on this subject, which the committee presented to Your Majesty.—The principal provisions

visions in which this act differs from former laws are, that it divides England into districts, and the average prices taken in each district, in the manner therein directed, are to regulate and govern the importation and exportation of the several sorts of corn, and the payment of the bounty thereon, in every such district. The city of London, and the counties of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, form one district, and the rest of England is divided into eleven other districts, each consisting at least of two counties, except that the county of Norfolk is made a district of itself.

In the district which includes London, and the counties of Kent, Essex, and Sussex, the average prices are to be taken from the market of London, according to a new and improved method.

Instead of requiring the oath of only two corn factors, chosen by lot, to the truth of their returns, all the corn factors within the city of London, and the suburbs thereof, are to swear that they will make true returns; and any person exercising the business of a corn factor, without having taken this oath, and obtained a certificate thereof from the Lord Mayor, is to forfeit £.50. A weekly average is to be made up of these returns in the manner directed by the former act, and the certificate of such weekly average sent to the collector was not to regulate the exportation of the several sorts of corn, and the bounty payable thereon, for the week to which these returns refer, as directed by the said act, but it is to regulate the same from the time that such certificate is respectively received by the collector of each port, to the time that a certificate of a new average shall be received by him; and for the purpose of regulating the importation of foreign corn, an average is to be made up, not of the returns of thirteen weeks, as directed by the former law, but of the six weeks preceding every quarter session, except in the case of oats, the importation of which is still to be regulated by an average made from the returns of thirteen weeks; and a certificate of such averages, sent to the collector of each of the ports, is to govern and regulate the importation from the receipt thereof to the time that he receives another certificate.



In the other eleven districts the justices at the Michaelmas quarter session are to nominate certain principal market towns, not being more than twelve nor less than eight in each district, from which returns of the prices of corn are to be sent.—There are some exceptions made in the act with respect to the number of market towns in particular districts, from a consideration of local circumstances.—The justices are to appoint also, from among the chief constables, or such other persons as to them shall seem proper (not being dealers in corn, &c.) one or more persons residing in or near such market towns, to collect weekly an account of the quantities and prices of the corn sold therein, from those who buy the same;—these persons are to be called *inspectors of the prices of corn returns*, and they are directed to return in every week, to the receiver of corn returns in London, the weekly prices and quantities of corn bought in each market town.—Each inspector is to take an oath to make true returns to the receiver of corn returns, according to the accounts delivered to him by the several buyers, and to use his best endeavours to procure true accounts.—The receiver of corn returns is required to make up a weekly average, and also an average of the six weeks preceding every quarter session, of the returns received by him from each district, according to the manner practised in the city of London, as before described.—He is to transmit a certificate of each weekly average, and also a certificate of each quarterly average, collected from the returns of each district, to the ports of such district respectively, and such weekly certificate is to regulate and govern the exportation of corn, and the bounty payable thereon; and such quarterly certificate is to regulate and govern the importation of Foreign corn, from the receipt of the same by each collector to the time that he shall receive a new certificate.

This act contains many good regulations for ascertaining the prices of corn, so as to prevent many of the frauds committed in the importation and exportation of it, and in obtaining the bounties.—But the several clauses of the act were very imperfectly drawn, so that, at the time  
that

that the committee laid before Your Majesty their first representation, this act had failed in its execution in every district, except in that, which is composed of the port of London, and the ports of the counties of Kent, Essex, and Suffex;—since that time five districts have made returns conformable to the act, but in the six others the act has not been carried hitherto into execution.

Your Majesty's attorney and solicitor general, in their letter of the 18th December last, annexed to the former representation of this committee to Your Majesty, gave it as their opinion, " That in those districts where market towns have not been selected and nominated, or inspectors appointed by the justices at the last Michaelmas quarter session, they cannot now be appointed, as no authority is given by the act for that purpose." And as the magistrates in several districts have omitted to exercise the powers given to them in these respects, the act, as applicable to the whole kingdom, ceases to be operative, and must therefore, as a general regulation, be considered as existing no longer. All the powers given by former laws to this end are by this act repealed; so that it is become absolutely necessary to pass a new law. And with this view it may be proper to consider, what parts of the act of last year, or of the acts that were thereby repealed, it may be fit to revive; what parts of existing laws it may be fit to continue; and what new provisions it may be right to propose to the legislature for their judgment and decision.

The committee therefore humbly offer the following advice:

- 1st. That England continue to be divided into districts, according to the plan of the act of last session; and that Scotland be divided into districts in like manner.

The committee think, that according to the true principles of the corn trade, as before stated, one general average ought to be formed, and taken from the prices of the markets of the whole kingdom, to regulate and govern importation and exportation, and the payment of the bounty, in all the ports thereof.



Such a regulation would tend to equalize the prices over all the country, to secure to those parts which may be in distress, a supply from the redundancy of more plentiful districts, and to preserve in the kingdom a stock, at all times, sufficient for the subsistence of its inhabitants.—It would also remove the principal objection urged against the payment of the bounty, as the bounty would not in that case operate, as it does now, to force corn out of parts of the kingdom for the supply of foreign nations, when other parts of the kingdom are in want of it; for as long as so large a bounty can be obtained by exporting corn to foreign countries, it can hardly be supposed, that corn will be carried coastwise (in which case no bounty is paid) for the relief of any other district at a considerable distance.—But as it is probable that the landholders, at least in some counties, will not approve of this plan, and as they now appear to be satisfied with having the kingdom divided into districts, and making the average price of each district the rule for governing importation and exportation in all the ports of such district, so much attention is due to their opinion and wishes, that it would not be advisable to make any alterations therein, contrary to their inclination.

This plan of districts is certainly greatly preferable, and much less liable to fraud, than that of making the price of each port the rule to govern importation and exportation at such port.—The committee do not think fit to offer any opinion on the manner, in which the districts were formed in the act of last year, as this arrangement has so lately met with the approbation of parliament.

But, in order to make the system complete, it is necessary, that Scotland should be divided in like manner into districts, and that importation and exportation there should no longer be regulated according to the defective and discordant system of former laws, and that in a business of common concern every part of the united kingdom should be made subject to the same regulations.—It

was shewn by the committee, in their first representation to Your Majesty, that just before the late orders in council were issued, wheat was exported from Scotland to foreign parts upon bounty, while the price of that article was so high in England, as to open the ports there for the importation of foreign wheat upon the low duties.

- 2d. That whenever the export of any sort of corn is stopped in any one district, because the price thereof is above the export price, corn of the same sort should not be allowed to be carried from thence coastwise to any other district, the ports of which are open for the exportation thereof.

This regulation will tend greatly to prevent fraud; and as the price of any sort of corn in a district, the ports of which are open for exportation, must be lower than in a district, the ports of which are shut, it is evident that it cannot be carried for consumption to a district, the ports of which are open for exportation.

- 3d. That the act of 10th Geo. III. ch. 39, for registering the prices of corn, so far as relates to the appointment of inspectors, be repealed, and that the registry of corn published weekly in the Gazette, be formed upon the averages taken, according to the prices returned by the inspectors appointed under the act of last year,

Though these averages were directed by the two several acts before mentioned to be taken for different purposes, there can be no reason why they should not be taken in the same way, and by the same persons.—The prices of the several sorts of corn, as taken in these two ways, will frequently be different, as is shewn in paper N° 4 in the Appendix.—The prices, as taken in one way, are published in the Gazette, to enable the merchant to speculate; but when he brings his corn to port, in order to import or export it, he will often find that the prices, as taken in the other way, are not the same as those, on which he speculated,

lated, and he is thereby deceived.—The manner of forming these averages in the act of last year is certainly the most accurate, as is clearly shewn in paper N<sup>o</sup> 4, before mentioned.

If the two modes of collecting the prices should be allowed at the same time to subsist, the counties will be put to the expence of two classes of inspectors; and one objection made to the act of last year is, the expence incurred by the payment of the inspectors.—The saving arising from the abolition of one class of inspectors will nearly defray half the charge incurred by the new system.

4th. That a duty of one half-penny per last be paid on all British corn imported coastwise, and one penny per last on all corn imported from foreign countries into all the ports of Great Britain, as is now paid in the port of London; and that the money arising from these duties be made a fund for the payment of the inspectors, and defraying the other expences incurred by this act; and that the corn returns sent by the post be not subject to the payment of postage.

The object of this proposition requires no explanation.

5th. That the inspectors be paid not by salaries, as directed by the act of last year, but by a certain allowance for each return, certified to have been properly made, by the receiver of corn returns, according to the act of the 10th year of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 39.

It is obvious that the object of this regulation is, to secure the execution of the act.

6th. That in case the returns from any district shall not be completely made, according to the directions of the act, the importation and exportation of

every sort of corn in that district, shall be governed by the average price of the rest of the kingdom.

It is obvious also, that this regulation tends to secure the execution of the act, and to prevent in every such district, any improper importation or exportation.

7th. That a power be lodged in Your Majesty, with the advice of Your privy council, during the prorogation of parliament, to prohibit generally the exportation from this kingdom of any sort of corn, and in like manner to permit generally the importation, on the low duties, of any sort of Foreign corn, whenever the average price thereof, taken from the *returns of the whole kingdom*, is higher than the price at or above which Foreign corn is allowed by law to be imported, if Your Majesty in Your wisdom for the public benefit shall so think fit \*.

A discretionary power of this sort appears to have been vested in the crown by a great number of acts of parliament †, from Richard II. to the present time; the acts by which this power was granted are cited in the margin.—It has been found by repeated experience, that the vesting such a power in the crown is necessary for the welfare of the people.—Government possesses at all times the best means of discerning the general exigencies of the kingdom, and the state of crops and markets in foreign countries, and there can be no just reason to suspect, that it will at any time be influenced by any bad motive to exercise this power improperly.

\* Note to the present edition.—Parliament did not adopt this 7th resolution, but temporary laws have frequently passed since the year 1790, vesting in His Majesty a discretionary power of this sort for a limited time.

† Stat. 17 Rich. II. c. 7. 15 Hen. VI. c. 2. 1 & 2 Phil. & Ma. c. 5. 13 Eliz. c. 13. 35 Eliz. c. 7. 8 Ann. c. 2. 14 Geo. II. c. 3. 15 Geo. II. c. 35. 30 Geo. II. c. 1.

8th. That the collector of the customs at every port in Great Britain, do transmit weekly to the receiver of corn returns, an account of the quantity of the several sorts of corn shipped in such port to be carried coastwise, with the name of the ship or vessel, the name of the master, and the port or place in Great Britain, to which the corn was intended to be carried; and also an account of the quantities of the several sorts of corn brought coastwise into each respective port, with the name of the ship or vessel, the name of the master, and the name of the port or place from whence it is brought; and that the said receiver do, at the end of every three months, transmit to the commissioners of His Majesty's customs in England and Scotland, an account, to be formed and made up in such manner as the said commissioners shall approve, of the quantity of the several sorts of corn shipped to be carried coastwise from each port, or brought coastwise into each port respectively.

There can be no doubt that in the course of the last six months, considerable quantities of corn have been exported to foreign countries, which were shipped under the pretence of carrying the same coastwise.

The commissioners of Your Majesty's customs have the merit of using every endeavour to prevent this evil, and there are already many wise provisions in the laws of this country to make the commission of this fraud as difficult as possible. A bond is given for landing the corn so shipped to be carried coastwise at some specified port, or at some other port or place in Great Britain, and no where else—there can be no doubt that the regulation now proposed will be an additional check to this practice, for by bringing into one view an account of the whole of the corn so carried coastwise, and by comparing the quantity shipped with the quantity landed, every fraudulent attempt may be detected.



9th. That the warehouses in which Foreign corn imported is to be lodged, under the joint lock of the King and the proprietor, according to the statute of the 13th of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 43, be provided at the public expence; and that the officers of the customs, whose duty it is to attend those warehouses, be paid by the public, as is now practised with respect to the warehousing of tobacco.

There is no regulation in our system of the corn laws, that is more beneficial and more deserves therefore to be extended and improved, than those provisions which permit the warehousing of Foreign corn—this regulation tends to secure to us a very important branch of commerce—it enables our merchants, who receive corn from the Americans in payment of their debts, to lodge it here, either for the home or foreign market, as occasion may require—it is also \* the only method of forming magazines of a public nature in this country, against times of scarcity and distress, without prejudice to the British farmer and grower of corn—if the legislature have thought it prudent to pay for the warehouses in which tobacco is deposited, and the charges of the officers who are appointed to attend these warehouses, it is reasonable that the public revenue should defray the like expence in support of a trade which may in time prove more valuable than that of tobacco, and may become necessary, in certain contingencies, for the subsistence of Your Majesty's subjects; and from what has been already experienced in the case of tobacco, the committee have reason to believe that this expence will be no considerable burthen to the revenue.

\* Note to the present edition.—*The object of this regulation was in a great measure defeated, by Clause 19, in the Act passed on this occasion, which requires, that corn warehoused when the high duty subsists, if taken out for home consumption, even when the price at the place where it is intended to be consumed is so risen, that it may be imported there on the low duty, shall pay in addition to such low duty, a further duty, which in the case of wheat is 2 s. 6 d. per quarter: and it can hardly be expected that, corn should be imported to be warehoused, on such terms.*

10th. That Foreign corn imported and not warehoused be not allowed again to be exported.

When the high duties on importation subsist, Foreign corn is never imported, except to be warehoused; when the low duties commence, in consequence of scarcity of corn in this country, Foreign corn has frequently been imported; and in consequence of the right which the proprietors have heretofore had of re-exporting it, frauds have been committed in exporting British corn, which by law is not then exportable.—The legislature, convinced that frauds of this nature were committed, did by the 5th Geo. II. ch. 12, prohibit the carrying Foreign corn, once imported, to the open sea, in order to be landed in any other port of England.

If the public pay the expence of warehouses, as above proposed, the merchant can have little reason to complain that he is obliged to lodge his corn in a warehouse provided by the crown, under the care of the public officer.

11th. That corn so warehoused be permitted to be taken out, to be ground by the importer or proprietor, on condition that he give bond, not subject to any stamp duty, in double the value of the said corn, that he will export from the port where it was warehoused, within two calendar months from the time of taking out the said corn, a quantity of flour equal to the corn so taken out, reckoning the quantity of wheat meal, or other ground corn, for every bushel of such corn unground, according to the proportion as it is now settled by law; or that he will pay the duty chargeable on the said corn at the time that it was taken out of the warehouse.—And that no importer or proprietor shall be entitled to the receipt of any bounty on any corn or flour exported by him, until after he has settled his account of the corn so taken out of the warehouse, and discharged his bond.



This regulation will encourage in this country the manufacturing of foreign corn into flour—It will also facilitate the trade, as many foreign countries may at times be desirous of obtaining from this market flour instead of corn.—In consequence of the restrictions which accompany this permission, no considerable fraud can easily be committed. By statutes the 15 and 16 Geo. II. prohibited East India goods, being warehoused, are now allowed to be taken out to be dyed or glazed, on giving bond to bring them back in a limited time to be exported.

There is another proposition of more importance, which the committee submit with greater diffidence than any of the preceding; and which they only venture to suggest, in order that it may be taken into consideration.

- 12th. That wheat be permitted to be exported, but without bounty, when the price thereof is between 44 s. and 46 s.\* and other corn when the prices thereof shall be in like proportion; and that wheat be allowed to be imported into this kingdom, from Your Majesty's kingdom of Ireland only, on the low duties, when the price thereof is at or above 46 s. and other sorts of corn when the prices shall be in like proportion.

The two regulations contained in this proposition, to take place whenever the parliament of Ireland shall

\* Note to the present edition.—It will be seen by the preceding Table, No. 4, that British wheat was not permitted to be exported by the laws then in force, till the price of it had fallen to 44 s. per quarter. And by Table No. 5, it will be seen, that British wheat, when so permitted to be exported, at the price beforementioned, was entitled to the bounty. The legislature adopted this 12th proposition, and by the law founded on it, British wheat was permitted to be exported when the price of it was below 46 s. per quarter, though it continued to be not entitled to the bounty, till it was below 44 s. per quarter. The exportation of all other articles of British grain was regulated in the new act upon the same principle. See stat. 31 Geo. III. ch. 30. Table (B.) This regulation, by encouraging exportation, was thought to be in favour of agriculture.

shall make a regulation with respect to British corn, similar to the last in favour of Irish corn.

The committee are inclined to think, that these regulations are both beneficial in themselves; but they have coupled them together, as they think that the one is calculated to counteract any evil which may be supposed to arise from the other.—The great corn counties of Great Britain are in general on the east side of the island, and there corn is in general cheapest. The capital is fortunately situated in the midst of them: but many of the great manufacturing counties and towns are on the opposite side of the island, and there corn is generally dearest.—The first of these regulations will be beneficial to the corn counties on the east side of the island; the last of these regulations will be beneficial to the populous and manufacturing counties and towns on the west side of the island, which are more conveniently situated for importation from Ireland; and both regulations, taken together, will contribute to bring the price of corn in the different parts of the kingdom more to a level.

It is not probable that any great quantity of corn will be exported without bounty, unless when corn is much dearer in foreign countries than here, a contingency which may sometimes, but does not often happen; and there is little reason to apprehend that the importation of Irish corn into the western counties of this kingdom will discourage the agriculture of them, as much less corn is grown there than is consumed by the inhabitants, and the price of it is consequently high.

It was the opinion of the commissioners of the customs, in a report presented to the lords of the treasury in 1774, that the export of corn should be allowed to continue, when the price of corn is something higher than that, at which the bounty ceases to be paid; and some of the best judges on this subject have expressed the same sentiment\*.

There

\* Note to the present edition.—*In addition to these twelve propositions, the legislature thought fit in the bill then brought in to raise*  
what

There are several other propositions for the amendment of the corn laws of less importance than those before stated, with which the committee do not think it necessary to trouble Your Majesty; but if it should be thought fit that any of Your servants should propose a bill to parliament for improving these laws, the committee will be ready to suggest them.

As the corn laws ought of all others to be generally known and understood, the committee think, that the subsisting regulations, and such as may now be adopted, should be brought into as narrow a compass as possible, and that the act of the 13th of Your Majesty's reign, ch. 43, and the act now to be proposed, should comprehend

*what is called the importing price, that is the price of wheat and other sorts of grain, taken according to the price of grain, of the same sort, the produce of this kingdom, at or above which, Foreign grain of those several sorts should be respectively permitted from thenceforth to be imported into this kingdom. The object of this last proposition was, by securing to the British farmer a sufficient profit in the sale of his wheat and other grain, to encourage agriculture, and to promote inclosures, and thereby to bring into tillage a great quantity of the waste lands of the kingdom: It was also hoped, that by this encouragement the produce of wheat in the kingdom might be made equal, or more nearly so, than it had been of late, to the consumption of its inhabitants. How far this alteration in the system of our corn laws has answered the ends of promoting inclosures, and of making the produce of wheat in this kingdom equal to the consumption of its inhabitants, the reader will see by two accounts, inserted in the Appendix of the present edition. [No. 5 and 6.]*

*By the laws then in force, Foreign wheat had hitherto been permitted to be imported at the low duty of 6 d. per quarter, when British wheat was at or above 48 s. per quarter.—By the new law, Foreign wheat was not permitted to be imported at the low duty of 6 d. per quarter, till British wheat was at or above 54 s. per quarter, so that the import price at this very low duty was raised 6 s. per quarter.—It was thought however, right, upon the same principles, which had been adopted in the 12th proposition, with respect to exportation of wheat, to make the importation of Foreign wheat take place by degrees; and it was therefore enacted, that when British wheat was at or above 50 s. but under 54 s. per quarter, Foreign wheat should be permitted to be imported on paying a duty of 2 s. 6 d. per quarter. The importation of all other articles of grain, and of oatmeal, was regulated in the new act upon the same principle. See stat. 31. Geo. III. ch. 30. Table F.*

hend all the regulations that are allowed to subsist; or perhaps, that even these two acts should be consolidated.

The committee are decidedly of opinion, that one permanent system should now be established, so that the grower of corn may know how to direct his industry and his speculations, and be sure that no temporary measure will intervene, to deprive him of the fruit of them:—The corn trade is in itself subject, from the vicissitudes of seasons, and other circumstances, to greater fluctuation than any other; it ought not to be exposed to the additional uncertainty arising from frequent alteration of laws, and changes of system.

In forming these regulations, the lords of the committee have endeavoured equally to provide for the prosperity of the grower of corn, and the necessities of the consumer.—The interests of the grower and consumer are supposed by some to be at variance: To reconcile them as much as possible, is the end which every wise government should endeavour to attain.—The interest of the consumer is entitled to the first consideration, so far as to preserve him, in every possible contingency, from scarcity and distress.—And as distress for want of this necessary article of subsistence cannot long exist in any country without exposing it to those commotions which frequently happen in times of dearth, it is not likely that the grower of corn would enjoy in safety the fruits of his industry, unless due attention is paid to this first and capital object;—but this point being once secured, the interests of the grower should in the next place occupy the particular attention of the legislature. The production of corn is the first and most important occupation of the subjects of every country, and on its success rests the main support and prosperity of every other trade. For the sake of the consumer therefore, the most liberal encouragement and protection should be given to those employed in it; for without offering proper incitements to their industry, plenty can never be procured: For these reasons it will be found, perhaps, on due consideration, that the  
interests

interests of the grower and consumer, well understood, are less at variance, than at first they may appear.—In the advice, which the committee have thought it their duty to offer to Your Majesty, they have aimed at discovering the point of union, at which these interests meet; and they humbly refer to the judgment of Your Majesty, how far they have accomplished the object they had in view.

# A P P E N D I X :

## C O N T A I N I N G,

- No. 1. An Account of the quantities of Corn and Grain exported from, and imported into, England and Scotland, for 18 years; &c.
- No. 2. An Account of the quantity of Corn exported for 19 years, from 1746 to 1765 inclusive; &c.
- No. 3. An Account of the quantity of each sort of Corn imported into England, from 1746 to 1765 inclusive; &c.
- No. 4. How Returns of Corn are made from the markets of Leicester and Manchester.
- No. 5. An Account of the several sorts of Grain exported and imported from and to Great Britain, for eight years; &c.
- No. 6. An Account of the number of Bills for Inclosure that passed the Legislature in each year, from 1780 to 1799 inclusive; &c.

An Account of the quantities of corn and grain exported from, and imported into, the bounties and drawbacks paid, and the duties received, thereon;

	WHEAT and FLOUR.		BARLEY and MALT.		OATS and OATMEAL.	
	Exported.	Imported.	Exported.	Imported.	Exported.	Imported.
	Quarters. <sup>10<sup>l</sup></sup>	Quarters	Quarters. <sup>12<sup>d</sup></sup>	Quarters.	Quarters. <sup>12<sup>d</sup></sup>	Quarters.
1771 - - -	10,089 <sup>6</sup>	2,510	34,198 <sup>6</sup>	228	35,233 <sup>6</sup>	212,327
Price of the Year	Wheat, 47s. 2d	- -	Barley, 25s. 8d	- -	Oats, 16s. 8d	- -
1772 - - -	6,959	25,474	14,031	3,668	23,599	106,820
Price of the Year	Wheat, 50s. 8d	- -	Barley, 25s. 4d	- -	Oats, 16s. 2d	- -
1773 - - -	7,637	56,857	24,775	63,916	18,777	329,454
Price of the Year	Wheat - 51s.	- -	Barley, 28s. 4d	- -	Oats, 17s. 2d.	- -
1774 - - -	15,928	289,149	2,911	171,508	16,433	399,499
Price of the Year	Wheat, 52s. 8d.	- -	Barley, 28s. 6d.	- -	Oats, 17s. 10d	- -
1775 - - -	91,037	560,988	51,414	139,451	26,485	384,942
Price of the Year	Wheat, 48s. 4d.	- -	Barley - 26s.	- -	Oats, 16s. 6d	- -
1776 - - -	210,664	20,578	136,114	8,499	34,987	378,566
Price of the Year	Wheat, 38s. 2d	- -	Barley, 20s. 2d.	- -	Oats - - 15s.	- -
1777 - - -	87,686	233,323	142,725	7,981	36,614	366,446
Price of the Year	Wheat, 45s. 6d.	- -	Barley, 20s. 6d	- -	Oats, 15s. 8d	- -
1778 - - -	141,070	106,394	103,930	42,714	56,543	201,173
Price of the Year	Wheat, - 42s.	- -	Barley, 22s. 8d.	- -	Oats, 15s. 2d	- -
1779 - - -	222,261	5,239	85,777	7,085	22,286	348,511
Price of the Year	Wheat, 33s. 8d.	- -	Barley, 19s. 6d	- -	Oats - - 14s.	- -
1780 - - -	224,059	3,915	191,563	352	27,023	195,224
Price of the Year	Wheat, 35s. 8d.	- -	Barley - 17s.	- -	Oats, 12s. 10d	- -
1781 - - -	103,021	159,866	150,468	56	41,717	109,446
Price of the Year	Wheat, 44s. 8d.	- -	Barley, 17s. 2d	- -	Oats, 13s. 8d.	- -
1782 - - -	145,152	80,695	127,744	13,592	23,317	38,562
Price of the Year	Wheat, 47s. 10d.	- -	Barley, 22s. 6d	- -	Oats, 15s. 2d	- -
1783 - - -	51,043	584,183	54,065	144,926	11,826	228,942
Price of the Year	Wheat, 52s. 8d.	- -	Barley, 30s. 4d	- -	Oats, 19s. 10d.	- -
1784 - - -	89,288	216,947	66,889	77,182	13,511	266,998
Price of the Year	Wheat, 48s. 10d.	- -	Barley, 27s. 10d.	- -	Oats, 18s. 4d.	- -
1785 - - -	132,685	110,863	166,443	67,212	25,273	274,089
Price of the Year	Wheat, 41s. 10d	- -	Barley - 24s.	- -	Oats, 17s. 2d	- -
1786 - - -	205,466	51,463	111,593	62,374	19,293	478,473
Price of the Year	Wheat, 38s. 10d	- -	Barley, 24s. 4d.	- -	Oats - 18s.	- -
1787 - - -	120,536	59,339	135,089	43,244	17,008	512,004
Price of the Year	Wheat, 41s. 2d.	- -	Barley, 22s. 8d.	- -	Oats, 16s. 8d.	- -
1788 - - -	82,971	148,710	212,811	11,479	14,418	413,827
Price of the Year	Wheat - 45s.	- -	Barley - 22s.	- -	Oats, 15s. 8d	- -
18 Years.	1,543,452	2,716,293	1,790,250	864,867	464,433	5,245,300
		1,948,452	864,867	- -	- - - -	464,433
Balance Imported	- - - -	767,841	- - - -	- -	- - - -	4,780,867
Balance Exported	- - - -	- -	925,383	- -	- - - -	- -

The price of the grain being fairly considered, both on importation and exportation,

	WHEAT	BARLEY.	OATS.	RYE.	BEANS.
The average price of the above 18 years - per Qr.	44s. 9d	23s. 7d.	16s. 2d.	29s. 8d.	28s. 10d.
The first and best sorts of grain generally - per Qr.	4s.	2s.	2s.	2s.	4s.



England and Scotland, for 18 years, from 5th January 1770 to 5th January 1789, with together with the average price of corn in England, under each year.

R Y E.		BEANS and PEASE.		PAID ON EXPORTATION.		Received on Importation.
Exported.	Imported.	Exported.	Imported.	Bounties.	Dra-backs.	Duties.
Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	Quarters.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
- - - - -	2,179	17,053	131	6,170 7 6	- - - -	13,717 11 - 3
Rye, 34 s. 4 d.	- -	Beans, 28 s. 6 d	- -	- - - -	- - - -	3,766 11 - 4
- - - - -	4,799	17,096	490	- - - -	- - - -	Duty-free.
Rye, 36 s. 8 d.	- -	Beans - 30 s.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
- - - - -	9,255	15,181	61,116	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
Rye, 33 s. 4 d.	- -	Beans - 33 s.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
2,260	41,427	13,567	24,591	6,023 3 10 1/2	- - - -	13,715 15 11 1/2
Rye, 34 s. 4 d.	- -	Beans, 31 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
2,722	33,574	19,349	44,452	7,849 10 11 1/2	1,798 16 8	19,797 19 6 1/2
Rye, 32 s. 10 d.	- -	Beans, 28 s. 8 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
10,979	3,415	56,037	38,843	52,248 - 9 1/2	786 8 -	3,688 18 -
Rye, 26 s. 10 d.	- -	Beans, 26 s. 6 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
946	18,454	47,156	63,829	45,666 16 5 1/2	102 1 10	8,856 8 6 1/2
Rye - 23 s.	- -	Beans, 28 s. 6 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
1,726	9,327	37,675	57,933	43,806 7 9	224 8 6	4,904 9 4
Rye, 28 s. 4 d.	- -	Beans, 27 s. 8 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
3,199	1,693	44,593	43,745	54,506 2 6 1/2	97 1 2	2,989 16 9 1/2
Rye, 23 s. 4 d.	- -	Beans, 24 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
6,305	- -	22,941	25,125	77,715 17 - 1/2	29 17 1	1,127 11 11 1/2
Rye, 22 s. 2 d.	- -	Beans, 22 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
2,701	10,743	19,344	17,753	32,270 14 7 3/4	46 9 2	4,722 11 - 3/4
Rye, 26 s. 10 d.	- -	Beans - 23 s.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
4,003	- -	26,128	8,558	47,914 7 4 1/2	55 7 1	2,349 17 1
Rye, 28 s. 10 d.	- -	Beans - 26 s.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
3,365	81,295	12,960	31,614	13,357 4 8 1/2	461 11 3	20,609 13 5
Rye, 35 s. 8 d.	- -	Beans, 34 s. 10 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
6,731	24,779	10,976	45,816	23,620 4 6 1/2	255 3 5	9,929 10 8
Rye, 32 s. 2 d.	- -	Beans, 32 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
13,163	28,761	15,904	16,813	26,314 5 10 1/4	207 1 6	7,448 17 2
Rye - 28 s.	- -	Beans, 30 s. 8 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
6,736	3,643	16,309	35,709	53,804 - 4 3/4	79 19 4	6,270 11 6
Rye, 27 s. 2 d.	- -	Beans, 33 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
12,683	7,054	18,260	42,884	56,979 18 9 1/4	9 5 11	6,625 19 9 1/2
Rye, 27 s. 8 d.	- -	Beans, 31 s. 10 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
31,220	- -	15,135	10,902	45,182 12 3 1/2	- - - -	6,665 14 10
Rye, 27 s. 8 d.	- -	Beans, 27 s. 2 d.	- -	- - - -	- - - -	- - - -
108,739	280,398	425,664	570,304	593,420 15 5 3/4	4,153 10 11 1/2	13,167 8 6 1/2
- - - - -	108,739	- - - -	425,664	4,153 10 11 1/2	- - - -	- - - -
- - - - -	171,659	- - - -	144,640	597,583 6 4 1/2	- - - -	- - - -
- - - - -	- -	- - - -	- -	137,167 8 6 1/2	- - - -	- - - -
Balance paid in bounties, &c. - - -				460,415 17 10 1/4	Exports and Imports, Extracted from the Custom House Books.	
The balance paid in the 18 years amounts to - - -				4,776,000 - -		
Total paid for grain and bounties, &c. - £.				5,236,415 17 1 1/4	Prices of the 18 years, Extracted from the Corn Re- gister established by Act of 10th Geo. III.	
or £. 291,000 per annum.				- - - -		

And the great exportation trade entirely lost, which, from 1746 to 1765, produced a net gain of £. 651,000 per annum. (See SMITH'S Corn Tracts, fo. 136.)

JN<sup>o</sup> JAMES CATHERWOOD.

The average prices of the 19 years (from 1746 to 1765) are 2	WHEAT.	BARLEY.	OATS.
	32. 3.	17. 8.	14. 0.

## Appendix, No. 2.

An ACCOUNT of the quantity of corn exported for nineteen years, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive, with the bounty paid thereon; distinguishing each year, and the several sorts of corn.—N. B. This account is for England.

	Barley.	Malt.	Oatmeal.	Rye.	Wheat and Wheat-meal.	Oats.	Bounties paid.
	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	Q <sup>rs</sup> . B.	£. s. d.
1747 - -	103,140 2	361,289 3	2,122 4	92,718 3	266,906 7	12,010 2	141,123 1 10
1748 - -	73,857 0	349,363 0	3,768 4	103,891 4	543,387 5	15,813 1	202,637 14 11
1749 - -	52,621 3	355,469 5	1,281 2	106,312 4	629,049 0	12,605 7	228,566 8 1
1750 - -	224,500 7	330,754 2	4,283 4	99,049 3	947,602 1	10,554 2	262,583 — 2½
1751 - -	32,698 0	256,547 4	2,476 2	71,048 4	661,416 4	8,459 1	154,904 17 4½
1752 - -	106,331 3	287,578 6	1,590 1	57,847 2	429,279 4	9,666 3	186,218 7 —½
1753 - -	67,049 0	274,424 7	7,012 1	24,835 7	299,608 7	11,107 2	222,508 8 6½
1754 - -	47,776 3	321,995 0	2,330 2	42,915 1	356,270 1	20,218 1	143,412 7 2
1755 - -	32,836 0	341,568 6	1,112 2	43,441 7	237,459 2	7,779 5	166,134 7 4½
1756 - -	26,938 5	236,925 6	2,310 4	29,968 7	101,936 4	8,499 5	109,228 1 8½
1757 - -	7,094 7	56,164 2	4,417 6	907 1	11,226 0	12,117 0	22,558 16 9½
1758 - -	691 0	10,728 1	1,831 4	—	9,233 6	7,932 4	3,752 6 10½
1759 - -	22,862 4	166,079 0	3,134 6	41,480 2	226,426 0	6,566 5	53,802 9 2½
1760 - -	34,592 4	224,195 0	2,388 4	52,766 4	390,710 4	12,299 5	118,247 4 5½
1761 - -	97,897 1	279,051 5	2,839 6	57,571 1	440,746 2	14,683 0	153,558 4 1½
1762 - -	136,873 3	254,429 5	1,368 4	28,410 2	294,500 0	145,025 7	129,210 2 6½
1763 - -	38,390 1	165,494 6	1,664 4	12,933 7	427,074 3	10,844 1	152,879 13 2½
1764 - -	9,218 6	223,220 5	1,101 0	27,690 1	396,537 5	8,436 5	149,607 2 7½
1765 - -	19,631 5	208,235 3	2,047 6	12,083 7	167,030 0	9,633 5	33,933 14 8½

N. B. The comptroller general cannot carry an account of the bounties actually paid further back than the year 1747—but it appears, by an account of the bounties payable since the commencement of the present century, that the greatest bounty was paid in the year 1750.

THOMAS IRVING,  
Inspector General.

Inspector General's Office,  
Custom House, London, 25 Feb. 1790.

## Appendix, No. 3.

An ACCOUNT of the quantity of each sort of corn imported into England, from 1746 to 1765, inclusive; distinguishing each year, with the amount of duties paid thereon, distinguishing each year.

Years.	Barley.	Beans.	Oats.	Oatmeal.	Pease.	Rye.	Wheat.	W heat Flour.	Total Duties.
	Qrs Bu <sup>ls</sup> .						Qrs. Bu <sup>ls</sup> .		
1747 --	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1748 --	14 4	—	—	—	—	—	385 0	—	24 11 6
1749 --	40 0	—	Qrs. Bu <sup>ls</sup>	—	—	—	382 0	—	25 5 10
1750 --	—	—	20 3	—	—	—	279 5	—	12 18 9
1751 --	—	—	2,291 1	Qrs. Bu <sup>ls</sup> .	—	—	3 0	—	57 9 3
1752 --	— 2	—	250 0	10 0	—	—	—	—	6 10 2
1753 --	—	—	33 3	2 4	—	—	—	—	17 9
1754 --	—	—	52,421 7	—	—	—	201 0	—	1,323 13 —
1755 --	—	—	1,591 2	292 0	—	Qrs. Bu <sup>ls</sup> .	—	—	40 3 —
1756 --	4 6	—	41,390 0	5,280 4	—	1,695 0	5 0	—	1,230 16 1
1757 --	5,779 1	—	7,460 2	298 3	—	7,861 7	130,343 2	—	8,839 17 8
1758 --	9,752 2	—	12,276 2	1,563 7	—	—	19,039 7	—	1,881 5 10
1759 --	42 4	—	321 4	13 2	—	—	82 1	—	14 19 8
1760 --	—	—	—	3 6	—	—	—	—	— 1 10
1761 --	—	—	21 0	—	—	—	—	—	— 10 6
1762 --	942 3	—	16,570 1	829 6	—	—	56 2	—	471 17 4
1763 --	3,227 7	—	217,637 5	836 5	—	—	8 1	—	5,576 13 1
1764 --	5,110 2	—	122,477 3	11,892 3	—	—	1 1	—	3,540 5 8
1765 --	3,597 0	—	82,205 4	541 6	—	—	89,642 5	—	6,771 2 6

THOMAS IRVING,  
Inspector General.

Inspector General's Office,  
Custom house, London, 1 March 1790.

The inspector general begs leave to acquaint their lordships, that the rate of the duties upon corn depends upon a variety of circumstances, but more particularly upon the current prices at the time of importation, which prices cannot now be ascertained with any degree of accuracy during the period for which the above account is required. The inspector general has consulted some of the best informed officers in the long room, and they are of opinion that the importation generally took place under the low duties; he has therefore computed the quantities according to those rates.

## Appendix, No. 4.

1st. **W**OULD the last-mentioned method of making the returns, according to the directions of the corn act passed last session, embarrass the business, or make it so much more difficult in the execution, that the returns might not be so regularly made, or that the persons making them would in consequence of any additional trouble be dissatisfied with the allowance now made them?

In answering the above question, it will, I conceive, be proper to state the manner in which returns are made under the act of the 10th Geo. III. and also those made pursuant to the act of the last session.

By the first-mentioned act, the persons who make returns, receive a sum not exceeding two shillings for each. They collect the prices by enquiry among the dealers on market days; and when ascertained, they make up their returns in the following manner; viz.

County of  
Leicester.

Leicester.

Saturday,  
February 6th, 1790.

A RETURN of the prices of corn from this market.

	Price by the customary measure.	Average.	Price by the standard Winchester bushel of 8 gallons.
	£. s. d.	£. s. d.	£. s. d.
Wheat per quarter, from - - to	2 18 6 2 7 —	2 12 9	— 6 4½

*Note.*

The quarter is 8 bushels, the bushel containing 8 gallons and 2 pints.

The price of the other sorts of grain is given in like manner.

From the mode of collecting these prices, it is not likely that the inspectors can obtain them so accurately as could be wished, not being authorized to demand any account from the dealers, and the dealers not being obliged to render them any.

The method above stated, of giving the average, is not a true one. For if a greater quantity of wheat was sold at £. 2. 18 s. 6 d. than at £. 2. 7 s. the average would be more than £. 2. 12 s. 9 d.; and if

if a less quantity was sold at the former than at the latter price, the average could not be so much as £. 2. 12 s. 9 d. It is therefore evident, that unless the quantity is known, and the cost of it, the *true average price* cannot be ascertained; of course the returns made under the act of 10th Geo. III. are not so accurate as those made pursuant to the late act, which enacts, That the buyers of corn for sale shall be sworn to deliver every week, to the inspector of the market at which they buy, a true account of the quantities they purchase, and the cost thereof.

When the inspector has received such accounts, which, at some places, are very numerous, he enters them in a book, from which he makes his return to the receiver of corn returns, as under, and then transmits a duplicate of it to the several collectors of customs within his district.

County of Lancaster.

Manchester, Saturday, February 6th, 1790.

A RETURN of the quantities and prices of corn and grain from this market, for one week, ended this day.

	Quantities, customary measure.		Price by the quarter.		Amount of each parcel at the several rates.			The aggregate quantity, Winchester measure.		The average price per quar- ter, Winchester measure.			The average price per bushel, Winchester measure.		
	Quar.	Bushel.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.	Quar.	Bushel.	£.	s.	d.	£.	s.	d.
Wheat by the quarter, Win- chester mea- sure.	4	4	58	—	13	1	—								
	51	4 $\frac{1}{2}$	55	4	142	13	1 $\frac{1}{2}$								
	8	4 $\frac{3}{4}$	54	6	23	8	4								
	93	3 $\frac{1}{4}$	54	4	253	15	— $\frac{3}{4}$								
	32	3 $\frac{1}{2}$	53	11	87	13	5 $\frac{1}{2}$								
	38	5 $\frac{1}{4}$	53	8	103	14	6 $\frac{1}{2}$								
	7	—	53	5	18	13	11								
	17	2 $\frac{1}{2}$	52	11	45	16	1								
	25	1	52	8	66	3	3								
	—	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	51	3	1	15	2 $\frac{3}{4}$								
	2	6 $\frac{1}{4}$	42	8	5	18	8								
	282	— $\frac{1}{4}$	—		762	12	8	282	— $\frac{1}{4}$	2	14	— $\frac{3}{4}$	4 $\frac{4}{7}$	—	6 9 $\frac{1}{4}$ $\frac{2}{7}$

If the average of the above was taken according to the usual method, under the act of 10th Geo. III. by giving the medium of the highest and lowest price thus, wheat from 58 s. to 42 s. 8 d. the average price per quarter would be only £. 2. 10 s. 4  $\frac{3}{4}$  d. instead of £. 2. 14 s. 0  $\frac{3}{4}$  d.

From what has been before stated, it is manifest, that the duty of the inspectors under the act of 10th Geo. III. is considerably less than

the duty of the inspectors under the late act, and that the allowance made to the former would be deemed very inadequate to the trouble of the latter.

- 2d. Can you recommend any method of making these returns, which will render them as accurate as those directed by the act of last year, and yet not put the persons, who are to make these returns, under too great difficulties in making them?

I can think of no method better calculated for obtaining true returns of the prices of corn and grain, than that directed by the act of last session.

JNO JAS CATHERWOOD,  
Receiver of corn returns.

17th February 1790.



## Appendix, No. 5.

an ACCOUNT of the several sorts of grain, exported and imported from and to Great Britain, for eight years, previous to the commencement of the new corn law [31 Geo. III. ch. 30.] and for eight years subsequent to its commencement; divided into periods of four years, with the averages thereof.

Years.	Wheat and Flour.		Barley and malt.		Oats and oatmeal.		Rye.		Pease and beans.	
	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.	Exports.	Imports.
	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.	Qrs.
1784	89,288	216,947	66,889	77,182	13,511	260,998	6,731	24,779	10,976	43,816
85	132,685	110,863	166,448	67,212	25,273	274,079	13,163	28,761	15,904	16,813
86	205,466	51,463	111,598	62,374	19,293	478,473	6,736	3,643	16,309	35,709
87	120,536	59,339	135,089	43,244	17,098	512,004	12,683	7,054	18,260	42,884
Total	547,975	438,612	480,024	250,012	75,175	1,531,564	39,313	64,237	61,449	141,222
Average	136,994	109,653	120,006	62,503	18,794	382,891	9,828	16,059	15,362	35,305
1788	82,971	148,710	212,811	11,479	14,418	413,827	31,220	—	15,135	10,902
89	140,014	112,656	345,685	11,128	33,283	437,594	40,151	14,845	29,644	391
1790	30,892	222,557	50,966	29,718	14,290	786,546	47	21,682	17,576	43,094
91	70,626	469,056	41,590	61,134	16,448	836,736	3,528	56,378	13,707	14,726
Total	324,503	952,979	651,052	113,459	78,489	2,474,703	74,946	92,905	76,062	69,113
Average	81,126	238,245	162,763	28,375	19,622	618,676	18,736	23,226	19,015	17,278
1792	300,805	22,786	47,541	118,526	24,628	1,008,750	16,151	13,027	17,285	43,254
93	78,789	500,572	3,447	147,163	17,380	722,527	512	55,592	14,352	48,273
94	152,202	328,446	9,296	128,568	14,436	862,979	1,920	24,472	10,800	130,612
95	16,920	318,104	6,416	18,071	5,988	460,378	277	24,039	14,550	36,071
Total	548,716	1,169,908	66,700	412,334	62,432	3,054,634	18,860	117,130	56,987	258,210
Average	137,179	292,477	16,675	103,083	15,608	763,658	4,715	29,282	14,247	64,552
1796	21,809	889,003	13,099	40,032	10,845	801,373	122	164,453	10,725	67,917
97	51,470	462,579	13,089	64,198	20,040	609,120	108	8,258	11,300	35,212
98	55,409	396,941	15,075	116,484	25,037	773,995	680	6,925	19,007	34,010
99	37,397	466,208	41,380	19,537	19,280	529,540	40	22,051	11,818	13,550
Total	166,085	2,214,731	82,649	240,251	75,202	2,714,028	950	201,687	53,350	150,689
Average	41,521	553,683	20,662	60,063	18,800	678,507	237	50,422	13,337	37,672



## Appendix, No. 6.

An ACCOUNT of the number of bills, for Inclosure and Drainage, that passed the legislature, in each year, from 1780 to 1799 inclusive, with the averages thereof; in periods of four years.

---

	N <sup>o</sup> .	Average.
1780 - - - -	37	
1781 - - - -	22	
1782 - - - -	15	
1783 - - - -	18	
	—	- 23
1784 - - - -	16	
1785 - - - -	23	
1786 - - - -	24	
1787 - - - -	24	
	—	- 22
1788 - - - -	35	
1789 - - - -	36	
1790 - - - -	28	
1791 - - - -	42	
	—	- 35
1792 - - - -	43	
1793 - - - -	63	
1794 - - - -	78	
1795 - - - -	82	
	—	- 66
1796 - - - -	78	
1797 - - - -	91	
1798 - - - -	53	
1799 - - - -	80	
	—	- 75

---



6106145



UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA LIBRARY

Los Angeles

This book is DUE on the last date stamped below.

REC'D LD-URQ

ORION MAY 29 '89

MAY 03 1989

MAR 03 1992

W/CUV



3 1158 01257 1039

UC SOUTHERN REGIONAL LIBRARY



**AA** 000 112 454

